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THE GERMAN PEOPLE

VOL. XI.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

By Johannes Janssen

VOL. XI.

ART AND POPULAR LITERATURE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

TRANSLATED BY A. M. CHRISTIE

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The principles which guided me in compiling the new editions of Janssen's 'History of the German People' have been explained in my Preface to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth edition of Vol. V. While referring to what is there written, I may add that for the present edition of Vol. VI. I have also numerous manuscript notes by the late author. In addition to these I could also insert many verbal utterances made to me by Janssen in July 1891, when I had lengthy talks with my never-to-be-forgotten instructor and friend, especially with regard to the alterations to be made in the first book of Vol. VI. (English, Vol. XI.). Particulars of these conversations I noted down on the spot. As in Vol. V., so in the present one, Vol. VI., I have, as far as possible, indicated my own notes and emendations by double asterisks (**).

For valuable contributions to the new edition of this present volume, I wish to express my heartiest thanks to the distinguished Professor (now Bishop of Rottenburg) P. W. v. Keppler, to Professor Wackernell

of Innsbruck, to Dr. Baümker of Zurich, and Dr. Bertram of Hildesheim, and also to my dear friends Nicholas Paulus at Munich and the Rev. Joseph Graen at Hildesheim.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

INNSBRUCK: *January* 6, 1893–*September* 8, 1900.

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HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BOOKS I AND II

CIVILISATION AND CULTURE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

INTRODUCTION [1]

When at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the Margrave Joachim Ernest wrote to Christian of Anhalt, 'We have the means in hand for overturning the world,' Germany was a very different country from what it had been a hundred years before. During the course of a century it had undergone an almost entire change, both in inward character and outward aspect, in every part of its existence; and the reason of this lay in its separation from its own past, in the violent breach which had taken place

[1] The references for the quotations follow later on, where that which is only briefly indicated here is given in fuller detail.

with all the traditions of former times. Not only had a vast preponderating majority of the German people lost all genuine and loyal-hearted trust in the ancient faith of their forefathers, but this faith had actually come to be denounced as idolatry and blasphemy. 'The devil,' it was declared, 'was the inventor of the papacy,' and 'the works of the papacy' had 'originated in hell.' All mediæval achievements in spiritual and intellectual fields were reckoned as fruits of darkness. The fiercest fire of religious hatred blazed abroad, and Germany became gradually filled with a spirit of theologising savageness and barbarity which had the effect of undermining all strongholds of faith among the people, of obscuring the moral judgment of the nation, and of bringing learning and art into contempt and ruin. Reason was pronounced by the leading theologian of the day to be 'a whore of the devil.'

While nominally seeking to throw off the 'foreign Roman yoke' in matters of religion, Germany fell more and more under the tyranny of the foreign Byzantine rule for slaves, under the bondage of foreign art, foreign morality, foreign customs and culture. 'They talk still a great deal about the unchristian Italian papacy, which was laid on the necks of our forefathers, and which closed the lips of all honest Germans,' wrote an honourable and patriotically minded preacher in the year 1603, 'but if these same forefathers could now see the shoals of German jackanapes who gaze admiringly, with wide-open mouths, at all Italian and French foolery, they would not have hands enough wherewith to box the ears of those same Kelto-Germans.'

Submerged in a flood of foreign influences, the German mind lost all power of rousing itself to constructive independence, till at last Germany, after a long period of intellectual subservience to its neighbour countries, fell a hopeless victim to them in a thirty years' war of extermination. What Sebastian Brant had foretold towards the end of the fifteenth century was now fulfilled:

> Such tumult everywhere is brewing,
> Such gruesome happenings occur,
> As though the world were doomed to ruin;
> On stilts the Roman Empire strides
> And German honour overrides.

In consequence of the general 'hurly-burly' the Roman Empire of the German nation had already, before the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, lost its world-prestige, and was scarcely to be reckoned as one of the great European Powers.

Under the Emperor Maximilian I, Switzerland had severed itself from Germany. During the reign of Charles V. the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights had become a Polish fief, and in the West, France had taken possession of the three strongest frontier fortresses. Under the succeeding Emperors the three great frontier strongholds in the North-East fell to the Russians; Spaniards and Hollanders set themselves up as 'Lords on the Rhine,' the Hollanders indeed as 'principal rulers in the Empire,' while the Emperors stood powerless and helpless before the princes, and had become tributaries to the Turks, who pressed on ever further and further. In league with foreign nations, German princes again and again plotted the complete annihilation of the Empire, and

the betrayal of the Empire into the hands of foreign potentates.

'The Roman Empire, at first mighty and iron,' wrote Lambert Floridus Plieninger in 1583, 'has become earthen and weak, is reduced to the utmost extremity, besieged and attacked by all the surrounding kingdoms; the tale of the Roman Emperors is drawing to an end.' On the other hand, 'every prince and lord is as a king in his own land, and it is his privilege to deal with and command his subjects as he likes and as seems good to him both in matters of religion and in civil affairs.'

The princes of the Empire had built up their might on the ruins of the Empire; they had known how to turn to their own advantage all the religious, political, and social movements of the century, and had acquired by degrees almost entire control over the destiny of the nation.

Those of the princes who had attached themselves to the 'new evangel' had known how to make the latter subservient to their own special ends. In the character of 'chief bishops with supreme and unlimited authority' they displayed an immeasurable degree of arbitrariness in all ecclesiastical matters. They assumed the same 'complete control over the faith and consciences of their people as over bridges, roads and footpaths.' And in all this they had the support of Protestant theologians and preachers, who themselves sanctioned, by formal declarations, the authority of the princes over the 'free-born' Church, and kept up continuous agitation against the 'Roman Antichrist.' At the same time 'they had everywhere ample means for realising what sort

of judgment was deserved by the political Antichrist of the evangelical rulers ; ' Johann Valentin Andreä was not the only person who declared the Cæsaro-papacy to be an invention of the devil.

Dire were the effects of this Cæsaro-papacy on the people. Seizure and squandering of Church property followed in its train, and worked most injuriously against the welfare of the people and the economy of the nation. Over against the numerous Protestant theologians and court preachers, who not only sanctioned this plunder of the Church but even helped on the princely raids, there were, however, a goodly number who openly denounced ' the robbers of churches and charities,' pointing them to the punishment threatened in the Scripture against robbery of God, and reminding them of ' the heavy curses ' frequently occurring in foundation charters ' against any who should divert and squander sacred endowments.' Countless charitable endowments, founded of old for the benefit of parishes and churches, for schools, hospitals and poor-houses, were devoured by these vultures, and multitudes of poor people were reduced to utter misery ; the ' helpful Christian system ' of olden times, writes the Protestant nobleman, Joachim von Wedel, was almost everywhere ' turned upside down, if not altogether demolished.' A preacher of the day laments that ' God is allowed to starve in churches and in schools in a way that makes his heart ache within him.' Landed estates, farms, fields and buildings, tithes and rents, were appropriated for personal enrichment, and if here and there individual princes or municipal authorities devoted a portion of former

Church or convent property to some good purpose, yet even of such persons the words of Nicholas Selnekker held good: 'They give away a gnat and they have taken a camel; or if they give an occasional farthing, they steal a horse.' Appeals to the sense of right and to economical considerations were in most cases fruitless. And the experience of the majority was in accordance with the dictum in the Pomeranian Church regulations: 'Stolen church goods do not prosper,' but 'they devour other goods with themselves.' The following lines became a universal maxim even in the districts which had remained Catholic:

> He who with Church goods maketh free
> Will, ere he knows, a beggar be.

Other results, already manifest, of this practice of Church robbery were fearlessly discussed by the Brunswick court-preacher, Basilius Sattler.

The clergy had been represented as a 'giant devouring the property' of the nation; now, however, for the first time this devouring process was carried on at the expense of the poor and the needy, to whom, formerly, help and maintenance had flowed from the Church funds. The old-established conditions of landed property also suffered a shock to their stability, simultaneously with the breaking-up of Church property.

While on the stepping-stone of the Roman Code, which gained steadily greater and greater prestige, the princes raised and extended their sovereignty, crushing out in their progress all national and State organisations, and advancing gradually to unlimited power, the requirements and exactions of these

rulers, of their courts, of their governments and officials, became greater and greater. To meet these continually increasing demands by fresh taxes and impositions of all sorts was the great problem of the financial skill of the day. And in dealing with the problem the initial idea was that all the revenues of the State were first and foremost for the benefit of the ruling Prince, who formed the central point of the court; for the erection of costly buildings; for unmeasured extravagance in clothing and adornment; for gambling debts; for 'princely banquets and drinking-bouts,' and endless court festivals and fireworks—in short, for every description of select and aristocratic pastimes, which sucked the blood of the people—not least among which was 'the holy art' of gold-making. Boundless extravagance and absolute financial chaos reigned in many departments of national life. Notice and consideration of very special character is required by the 'high princely department of the chase,' which deserves the chief blame for the decay of agriculture, and the impoverishment of the peasants. There was justification for the question: which has the best of it, the long-cherished and quickly-baited game, or the forever-baited and never-cherished subject?

The life and goings on at the princely courts became a model for the nobles to follow. 'Among the counts and lords there was, so to say, a standing wager as to who could best emulate the august princes in extravagance of food and drink, in numbers of servants, in hunting-parties, brilliant festivities, and unheard of display in foreign fashions and luxuries.'

'Wherefrom there ensued to excess, as well among the nobles as at all the princely courts, enormous

insolvency and impoverishment.' The reports concerning this insolvency and impoverishment of countless princes, counts, and lords would appear incredible did we not possess accurate and indubitable records on the subject.

In connection with the institution of the nobility come the organisations of war and of mercenary troops. The latter, even in times of peace, were 'a plague and a scourge of all the world;' for 'everybody gained bitter experience' of what the men of war were, namely 'robbers of houses and freebooters, garrotters, torturers, executioners, hangmen, and the peasants' fiends.' It was before the Thirty Years' War that Adam Junghans von der Olnitz wrote in his war-diary: 'It is a genuine Landsknecht conflagration, when fifty villages and hamlets stand in flames.'

The restless striving of the territorial sovereigns to extend their unlimited authority over public life also was in no small degree disastrous to the general welfare. The different princely domains became separated from each other by outrageous taxes, by export and import duties, affecting even the most indispensable necessities of food and clothing, and within each different territory all economic movement and industry became gradually chain-bound.

Under the title of 'royalty' the sovereigns usurped the control of the forests, of the mining and smelting works, and of numerous industrial and commercial undertakings. Princes themselves—as for instance Julius of Brunswick—became the foremost merchants of their land; others, like the Elector Augustus of Saxony, busied themselves actively with the exploitation of monopolies. The prosperous economic conditions

which the end of the fifteenth century had witnessed in Germany had already vanished by the middle of the sixteenth century. Whereas formerly the German towns had led the great movement of world commerce, had held command both over inland trade and over the seas and ports of Europe in the North, now the supremacy in the international mart, with its world-uniting power, fell to England and to the Netherlands. Through the Dutch revolution the chief fountain of gold in South Germany—trade with Antwerp—had been dried up. In place of Antwerp Amsterdam had come to the front, and German merchants themselves were actively influential in establishing the commercial strength of this town which undermined all German trade; first the Netherlanders barred up the Rhine, then the Scheldt; for Denmark the Sound was 'the principal ingress;' trade on the Belt was annihilated by Sweden; Queen Elizabeth built up the commerce of England on the ruins of Hanseatic trade; almost everywhere the once powerful Hanseatic League suffered humiliating destruction.

At the beginning of the century the towns had still been reckoned as 'the core of the Empire;' the year 1550 found them already at a very low ebb in their political and industrial importance, sundered from each other, and standing disconnectedly opposed to one another. It was from the inner conditions of the town constitutions that the seed of destruction had sprung. In many of the towns the old guild regulations had been broken through; in most of them they had suffered ossification; guild discipline had hardened into an oppressive monopoly for a small number of 'master' families, who, closely bound together, defied

the reiterated but powerless complaints of imperial recesses, and exploited the town market, often amassing to themselves enormous fortunes, while the journeymen-class, which was scarcely able to attain even to the right of mastership, fell into pauperism.

Hans Sachs had already complained on this score that 'handwork was becoming worthless because the labourers were debarred from their proper wages, and the avaricious employers were served by lazy and insolent workmen. Skilled artisans in the large towns were kept fully employed in supplying the wants of luxury, but "ordinary handwork" was lapsing visibly into decay.'

The hardest and heaviest lot befell the peasants. The yoke which they had endeavoured to throw off in the social revolution was transformed almost everywhere into hard and gruesome bondage. There was no longer any talk of 'righteous statutes' and 'prosperity of the peasants,' but only of the 'illimitableness of feudal obligations,' the disentail of farms, 'the rasing of villages and the slaughter of the peasants.' With regard to the peasants, the nobleman Matthew von Normann († 1556) said 'the ruling powers do with them just as they please;' the Görlitz Burgomaster, John Hass, adds to this testimony, as a fact of general experience: 'The peasants are treated as dwellers among Turks and heathen would be.' Monstrous are the accounts of their sufferings: witness, for instance, what Cyriacus Spangenberg tells of the lot of the peasant class. Roman jurists declared it to be 'according to justice' that princes and landlords should rule over peasants 'as over slaves;' that they should have unlimited command not only of their hours of

work and powers of work, but also of their whole private lives and of all their substance. There were theologians also who had so completely lost all their former ideas of the dignity of agriculture and farm labour as to insist that this work ought to be carried on entirely by slaves, or by rough, uncivilised men hired for the purpose.

The new socio-political and economic principles which gradually displaced the mediæval Christian German system of law and political economy, and the mediæval social order, led to the oppression, and hence to the impoverishment, of the masses of the people.

But the causes of this ' impoverishment and exhaustion of the nation,' which forms a standing ground of complaint in all the transactions of provincial diets, in all chronicles and reports, and of which there is actual circumstantial evidence for all the different German lands, did not lie only in the political and economic but also in the religious and moral conditions of the time. Amongst the writers of those days no one has better summed up the situation in brief than the Brunswick inspector of mines, George Engelhart Löhneiss; and the Tyrolese physician, Hippolytus Guarinoni, has furnished us with enormously rich materials for the study of this subject, as indeed for a general knowledge of the life of the times.

The ruin of economic life was followed on the heels by the moral corruption which was increasing in all grades of society. How terribly this demoralisation was gaining ground among the upper classes the memoirs of the Silesian knight, Hans von Schweinichen, alone suffice to show; how it fared with the burgher circles in this respect can be adequately gathered

from the comprehensive work 'Nothgedrungenen Ausschreiben' (a notification wrung from me by need) of the Elector of Brandenburg's house physician, Leonhard Thurn von Thurneissen. Many other writings, amongst which are several from the pen of Aegidius Albertinus, court secretary to the Duke of Bavaria, afford the same disgraceful picture. One prolific cause of demoralisation among the people was, according to contemporary opinion, to be found in the sermons of that period preached against good works. The effect of this preaching on the people, said the Protestant Melchior von Ossa, in concert with many other Protestants, was to make them 'thoroughly coarse and light-minded, so that neither trustworthiness, honour nor faith were found any more in the common people, but immorality and vice everywhere.'

That contemporary writers were not carried away by self-deception or exaggeration in this matter, is proved by all the wailing and denunciatory sermons in which preachers described in detail the sins, crimes and vices of which they had often, during long years, been themselves witnesses in their parishes. The number of such 'preacher-witnesses' who published their sermons in print is especially large among the Protestants. Next to Luther we find, among these pulpit-orators from all the different parts of Germany, such names as Melchior Ambach, James Andreä, Hartmann Braun, Kaspar Chemlin, Nicholas Cornopäus, Matthew Friedrich, Erasmus Grüninger, John Mathesius, Andrew Musculus, the two Lucas Osianders, Andrew Pancratius, Andrew Schoppius, Nicholas Selnekker, John George Sigwart, Cyriacus Spangenberg, James Stöcker, Gregory Strigenicius, Erasmus

Winter, and many others. What a wealth of evidence, for instance, is supplied by the hundred sermons which Strigenicius, superintendent at Meissen, delivered on the Flood, in order to put before his age a mirror of its depravity! The reader is pleasantly impressed by the frankness and fearlessness with which he, and not a few other preachers, told plain truths to 'tyrannical rulers,' to princes and lords, 'together with their court parasites, their grand retinues of nobles and their courtesans.'

From decade to decade the symptoms of social disease became more and more threatening. Crimes against the security of property and person, against the power of the law and the public peace, robbery, murder, and assassination, rape and unnatural vices increased in an alarming manner, and specially notorious was the growth of crime amongst the young. Whatever criminal statistics can be collected from the different German territories produce an impression of veritably tragic nature. 'The office of hangman,' it was said, was one of the most hard-worked occupations, 'almost equalling in heavy daily labour the office of a schoolmaster among the depraved, brutalised children of the day.' Very noteworthy in this respect is the diary of the Nuremberg executioner, Francis Schmidt, who recounts in gruesome detail how he had executed 361 persons, and had administered the penalties of flogging, and cutting off ears or fingers, to 345 others.

In connection with the growth of crime came the development of penal law, which in its turn presents fresh convincing evidence of the demoralisation of the age, especially of the increase of witch persecution,

that most monstrous outgrowth of the depravity of the times. The production of fresh instruments of torture and execution was pursued as a fine art, 'which, for the good of the fatherland, it was as necessary to learn and practise, as any other art and skilled handicraft.' If we had no further information on the art of torture than what is contained in the accounts of the preacher Johann Greve, of Cleves, we should still clearly realise how the penal code of that period was the actual fosterer of all the cruelties and abominations which later on, during the Thirty Years' War, were perpetrated by the mercenary troops on German soil.

The full description of these conditions, which were the outgrowth of the shattering of the unity of faith and religious concert, of traditional Church authority and all ancient principles of right and judicial relations, is one of the saddest tasks of the writer of civil and political history. But, however much that is melancholy he may have to report from all classes of the nation, he will nevertheless, if he desires to be just and reasonable, guard himself from over-hasty conclusions, as though forsooth the whole nation 'had been ruined from top to bottom.' For side by side with the multitudes who, in the fearful hurly-burly of the times, had entirely lost all firm faith and standing ground, and who by their mode of life were a mockery to all Christian habits and culture, and side by side with the countless ruined existences whose vices and crimes drew the eyes of all the world upon them, there were still millions of pious Christian souls who, in the old simplicity of faith and fear of God, continued in the enjoyment of peace, and worked their ways through

life earnestly and honourably, without attracting attention beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

The author of a religious book of instruction, towards the close of the sixteenth century, referred to this fact in order to 'encourage his contemporaries, and warn them against faintheartedness and despair.' 'Whereas, before our eyes,' he wrote, 'everything has become so bad and is constantly growing worse, so has the number of those who keep up a good courage become small and insignificant; most people are asking who can have any hope of improvement, and wishing themselves dead. One hears, say they, of nothing but sin, scandal, vice and corruption, and one sees nothing else, and when God's vengeance and punishment come we shall all be included in them; why should I live any longer?' Posterity will say, 'that the men of this age were worse than the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrha.' 'If, however, posterity,' the author goes on in a consolatory strain, 'could also know of all the manifold good which was still enacted in everyday life among high and low alike, it would modify its judgment. But it is the same now as it always has been at all times:' the virtues practised in the quiet of private life are not catalogued in 'archives, libraries, and chronicles,' and do not come to the knowledge of later generations. 'Of such God-fearing, virtuous men and women there are still a goodly number in every condition of life, in towns and villages, carrying on works of love.'

It was, however, a momentous fact that 'in that age crime and vice were no longer reckoned as such,' but 'actually vaunted themselves as though they were honour and fame.' The significant 'universal sym-

ptom ' of the times, which later generations also would recognise as such, was this : ' things honourable and sacred find but very scant room in the writings and in the art of the day, whereas baseness and commonness bear the sceptre everywhere.' What was presented to the people as intellectual food was ' for the most part rotten wares, a mass of filth, if not of deadly poison.' Hence, ' that which ought to have tended to reinvigoration, moral improvement and salvation, produced on the contrary sickness, disgrace and spiritual death.'

To how great an extent all this was actually the case is lamentably evident from the art and the folk-lore of the time. These two branches of intellectual creativeness, destined as they are for the nation in its entirety, give the plainest indications of the internal and external character of a particular epoch, of the forces at work and the results achieved.

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BOOK I

PLASTIC ART, MUSIC, AND CHURCH HYMNS

CHAPTER I

SURVEY OF THE PLASTIC ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES [1]

GERMAN mediæval art, as indeed all art in the Middle Ages, served the high vocation of glorifying God, edifying the people, fostering religious life, and at the same time contributing to the beauty and joy of daily existence—in short, to the general ennoblement of the national mind.

In accordance with the universal and dominant conviction of the day, that all things were subservient to, and must be judged by, their relation to the divine idea, and hence that all departments of life ought only to be reflections of the highest truth, and should strengthen our faith in the divine wisdom, it became also the great aim of art, as the noblest embodiment of the enthusiasm of the human soul, to express this same exalted conviction, to give it visible form in the concrete language of painting, sculpture and architecture. Art, it was felt, must be the teacher and educator of the nation, the builder up of the people—an agency which should lift them out of their everyday pursuits,

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 169–265 (1st edition of English). *** The quotations from vols. i. ii. and iii. are from the 17th and 18th editions (German); those from vol. iv. from the 15th and 16th editions; those from vol. v. from the 13th and 14th editions.

out of the pressure and wants of the temporal into the region of the eternal, which should express and embody their highest aspirations and thoughts in forms instinct with life, forms whose constraining power would work with lasting influence on mind, heart and will. Art, in short, was to be the people's friend and companion in all the varied walks of life, in joy and mirth, in sorrow and trouble.

Art, therefore, in those days, was not regarded as the possession of a privileged circle favoured by riches and position, or as an adjunct of splendour and fashion, but as the common property of all classes of society. Like religion itself, whose handmaid it was, and from which it derived its purity and its power, it was the concern of the whole nation, and also the concern of each individual of the nation ; it was one of the most urgent necessities of life for the people, whose doing and thinking and being supplied its motives, forms and material. Art in those days was indeed popular in the best sense of the term : its masterpieces were not only noble monuments of life with God and of beauty, but they were also reflections and embodiments of the national mind, which was largely co-operative in the creative work of the artists of the period.

And just because art was thus rooted in the national mind, was the immediate outcome of the ruling convictions of the people, and ministered to the general needs of the country, it was exempt from all restless seeking after out-of-the-way tasks : objects and motives came spontaneously to hand in inexhaustible abundance. The religious enthusiasm and the generosity of the nation impelled to the production of fine ecclesiastical

buildings. In eager rivalry the towns built their cathedrals, and their monastic and parochial churches; even the villages and hamlets erected buildings of great artistic beauty.[1]

Scarcely less keen was the competition that went on in the towns in erecting buildings for purposes of communal life—town-halls, commercial and guild-halls, enclosing walls, towers and battlements. All these civic buildings, as well as the countless fortresses, the ruins of which look down from the mountain heights, called forth the inventive genius of the artists, and all in their special ways, in fitness and harmony of construction, received the stamp of artistic perfection. Matthew Merian's 'Topographie' affords eloquent testimony to the splendid wealth of towers in the German mediæval towns.[2]

There was also an inexhaustible supply of work for the sculptors and painters who supplied sacred and secular buildings and private homesteads with the noblest ornaments of art.[3]

The position of honour which art occupied in the Church and in public life laid the foundation of its prosperity; its intimate connection with handicraft gave it its extensive diffusion. There were, in those

[1] Concerning 'the epoch of true Church spirit and piety' which preceded the age of 'enlightenment and reform,' Van Eye writes as follows: 'Whereas humility is essentially the beginning of wisdom, so here, too, we have a single-hearted generation, free from all presumption and pride, working itself up to the most excellent condition of human virtue, to the enjoyment of self-earned freedom and home-grown rights. From countless monuments that have been preserved to us there shines forth a spirit of this sort.'—Eggers, Jahrg. v. 225.

[2] Fuller details in A. Reichensperger's *Matthias Merian und seine Topographie*.

[3] See our more detailed remarks in vol. i. pp. 186–214.

days, no artists throning above the handicrafts: there were only masters, fellows and apprentices.[1]

The queen of all the plastic arts, the centre of all art-life, was architecture, and at the close of the Middle Ages the Gothic style still maintained undisputed sway. Being the loftiest embodiment of the prevalent higher thought, it manifested, in spite of the strictest rules, such a degree of freedom that, wherever it gained a footing and became popular, it mirrored the peculiar character of the people, and even of individual masters.[2]

[1] It is well said by Kugler, *Museum*, i. 14: 'At its first beginnings art was cradled close in the lap of religion and civil life; it ministered in the service of religion—thence its special character and significance; it was under the protection of morals—thence its forms and methods; it was handwork—thence its means of subsistence. This last feature explains the widespread understanding and appreciation which it gained. Thus art grew up, childlike and thoughtful.' When, however, it made itself independent of the crafts, 'it gained, indeed, with the consciousness of freedom both many-sidedness and a wider scope, but lost the advantages of concentration. The influence of the guilds gave way to models or to great personalities. The profession of artist became well-nigh the most poverty-stricken, the most hazardous of all professions; dragging on its existence in periods of history which were themselves disintegrating and difforming, art degenerated into affectation or vulgarity, flippancy or puerility—in short, into a new species of barbarism.'

[2] In this manifold variety, writes Lübke in his *Kunsthistor. Studien* (p. 206), Gothic architecture is 'the true expression of Christian as opposed to pagan civilisation. For whereas the latter recognised no national individuality, but spread the forms of Græco-Roman culture without distinction over all parts of the earth's globe, the former conceded to each different people the full individuality of its national development, which runs as a ground tone in richest variety through all the universal forms of life; and by reason of which it is as far superior to the ancient methods as is the polyphony of Christian music to the monody of the ancient music.' See Reichensperger, 'Miscellaneous Writings' (*Vermischte Schriften*), 65 ff.; Förster, ii. 1 ff. 'Religious elevation is inevitably produced by the contemplation of a Gothic work of art; for all that is impressive and sublime the Gothic style furnishes the most abundant and most admirable specimens. This style, moreover, has acquired and retained popularity in a degree which is scarcely equalled by any other form in art.' Springer, *Bilder*, i. 223. The Gothic style is by no means merely a gradual de-

Arbitrariness and fancy alone were excluded by the fixed law of tradition. Tradition kept the dominant art ideas awake in the consciousness of long periods of time, and was the true school which magnified the power of lesser talents, whilst later on even talent of a high order, working independently of tradition, was only able to produce a few works of lasting value.[1] The works also of the late Gothic, notwithstanding its departure from the strict architectural method, and in spite of its fantastic playing with ornamentation and geometric forms, displayed much vigorous artistic spirit. Possibly in the erection of large buildings the striving after lifelike variety and diversity of form may have carried the masters too far, but all the same

velopment of the Romantic style which preceded it ; it is a bold departure in an entirely new system ; it is, by its principles, an emancipation from the antique elements which always dominated the Romantic school, a new formation of language, as it were, in which what had gone before was naturally gathered up and incorporated. The man most thoroughly acquainted with Gothic art, Viollet-le-Duc, discusses the subject in his *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, under the heading 'Style.' He says, amongst other things: 'Si du romain à ce qu'on appelle l'art gothique il y a des transitions dans la forme, il n'y en a pas dans le principe de structure.' The essence of Gothic architecture lies in the fact that it starts with a geometrical ground-plan, which it develops according to immutable rules of proportion. The outcome of the Germanic genius (see Reichensperger, *Profanarchitektur*, p. 20 ff. *** See also Kraus, *Gesch. der Christl. Kunst*, ii. 1, 148 ff., and Pastor, A. Reichensperger, ii. 283), the Gothic style very quickly became the ruling art-language of the whole Christian Occident, differentiating itself in the most manifold dialects, according to the nature of different peoples, climates, materials, &c. Containing in itself a powerful creative force, and not dependent like the antique on ready-made formations, but working from the basis of mathematical ground-forms, it might still have developed further varieties had not the Renaissance struck at its roots. Moreover, in art, as in all other fields, all side issues are ultimately resolved into the great leading question—either Christian idealism, or else infidel materialism, ending in anarchy.

[1] See Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, Jahrg. 1820, p. 217 ff. ; *Zwölf Bücher eines ästhetischen Ketzers*, p. 78.

they still produced much that was highly meritorious, especially in works of subordinate rank.[1]

But whilst Gothic architecture and the arts of sculpture and painting which were connected with it

[1] Cf. Reber, *Kunstgesch.* p. 499 ; Pressel, p. 77. *** E. Haenel (*Spätgotik und Renaissance*, a contribution to the history of German architecture [Stuttgart, 1899]) would like to introduce a new distinguishing name for the late Gothic. Hence he lays great stress on the new features of style, especially the tendency to expand into breadth, to produce wide light spaces, in which the horizontal again asserts itself, and the ceiling appears as something independent in juxtaposition to the walls. The late Gothic is a spacious style, 'the Gothic building system, at the time of its highest development like unto bones and sinews, now again shows flesh and skin.' Haenel concludes as follows: 'There is no reason whatever to withhold from architecture, as it appeared on German soil in the second half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century, the name which it deserves—it is Renaissance, and by this name we have a right to call it.' There is somewhat of truth in these words. But it would certainly not be any advantage to the history of art if this nomenclature were adopted, as misunderstanding would inevitably arise. A flaw in Haenel's argument has been pointed out by H. Wölffin in the *Literar. Centralblatt Zarnckes*, 1900, p. 61. Haenel, it is said, confines himself to ecclesiastical buildings, and does not deal at all with secular architecture. Against such one-sidedness, and in favour of the beauty of the late Gothic, B. Riehl had already expressed himself earlier in his admirable pamphlet, *Die Kunst an der Brennerstrasse* (Leipzig, 1898). 'In an altogether one-sided manner,' he says (p. 99), 'the late Gothic is here regarded only from the standpoint of sacred architecture, and also, for which there is not full justification, as a period of the decadence, indeed of the final decay, of mediæval art. The abundance of young life still germinating in it was quite overlooked.' Long before B. Riehl, moreover, A. Reichensperger entered the lists vigorously in defence of the beauty of late Gothic (cf. Pastor, *A. Reichensperger*, i. 511). As I now see, J. Neuwirth also comes to a by no means favourable conclusion with regard to Haenel's pamphlet. In his paper (*Allgem. Literaturblatt der Leogesellschaft*, 1900, No. 15) he points out a further omission in Haenel's argument, the almost entire exclusion of the important monuments on Austrian territory, and then remarks: 'His work, which is certainly not altogether unopen to objections, contains a number of new ideas which merit further consideration. However, the problem opened up by him needs still further evidence and a broader foundation before the general public will be willing to accept it' (cf. also Bezold, *Baukunst der Renaissance*, p. 7).

'made things divine and eternal their chief end,'[1] they were very far from being hostile to nature, or even from wishing to restrain a free outlook on nature. The art of that period was as little inimical to nature as was the Church which it served. The Church, it is true, preaches constant warfare against the sinful inclinations of nature, and insists above all on living the inner life, on knowledge of the human heart; the Church directs and leads the longings, which this world cannot satisfy, up to an eternal existence, but it does not 'repudiate' nature; on the contrary it rejoices in it, purifies and transmutes it in her teaching concerning the Redeemer, who took on Himself human nature, in her use of earthly substances for the holy Sacraments, in her doctrine of the sanctity of the body as a temple of the Holy Ghost, of its resurrection and destined transfiguration. In like manner the hand of art invested nature with a higher consecration: by the magic of architectural art the massive block lost its heaviness and oppressiveness; stone was lifted into the realm of higher organic products, flowers and leaves from field and forest were made to speak in the

[1] See F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst*, ii. 230–231, who extols the earnestness of religious thought in the late Gothic sculpture. It is, nevertheless, an undoubted fact that German art at the close of the Middle Ages had its shady side. F. Schneider, in his *Gotik und Kunst, Brief an einen Freund* (1888), has asserted this with great vigour in opposition to Janssen's views. Schneider insists, namely, that art in Germany at that period lapsed into mere *bourgeois* handicraft, that the life of the burgher class gave the standard for its aims. 'Thence the home-brewed character, the element of triviality which dominated art.' 'Both in sculpture and painting,' Schneider goes on, 'the taste for external scenery and splendour of apparel, for fashion and posing, together with delight in coarseness, superabundance of accessories, mannerisms, and conventional patterning, had been pushed so far that they frequently bordered on caricature.' Emphasis might be laid on the word 'frequently.'

language of art, and woven into garlands of the greatest artistic beauty. Sculpture no less than architecture produced works of distinction and revelled in the transfiguration of nature.[1]

Specially distinguished by truth to nature were the masters of the Cologne school, and the brothers Van Eyck and their successors; their works, which can only be compared to the old folksongs, breathe the deepest poetry of nature-life, while at the same time they reach and exalt the human soul by their ideality and their mystic depth. The delight in intercourse with nature, so specially characteristic of the German people, received in the creations of the Flanders-German schools its purest expression: every blade of grass, every flower, every tiny insect, was worked up with the most loving assiduity, and the result was perfect life-likeness and reality clothed with ideal beauty. These artists loved to surround their subjects with a setting of homely and familiar objects, and every form and figure on their canvas gave the impression of perfect truth and fidelity combined with deep religious feeling. A pious, childlike spirit informed these works of art, and gave them their chaste expression of innocent beauty and modest charm. An air of joyous hilarity, as though the divine redemption from all earthly complication were accomplished, impresses the gazer with a feeling that all discord is solved in harmony:

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 198–218. 'The sculptors were very far from despising the impulses produced in them by the outer world. Studies of nature and exercises in sketching were not unknown as early as the thirteenth century. At any rate it can never be asserted that the mediæval epoch detested nature, and prohibited the study of it. Any idea of this sort is fully corrected by the songs of the Minnesingers, who give us such charming pictures of nature, and call up woods and meadows vividly before our eyes' (Rahn, p. 554).

nature and man appear transfigured in a Sabbath rest.[1]

And all these pictures were genuine German art, originating from the mind and character of the native.[2]

[1] 'Van Eyck created a national style in which the highest truthfulness and fidelity of representation and the most lofty ideality were combined in equal measure.' In the compositions of Van Eyck, Hemmelinck (Memling), Schoreel, and other artists of the first class, there is no trace of the trivial, affected treatment of drapery, 'lacking any sort of breadth, which was introduced by some later painters of the old Dutch and South German schools, and was often, from ignorance, falsely attributed to all the old-German painters' (Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, 1820, pp. 230–233). See Schnaase, *Niederländ. Briefe*, pp. 237–241. 'When at the Hague' (p. 313) 'I gazed with delight at the works of the joyous Netherlanders of later times, trying to identify myself with their views and their attitude. When afterwards I gave myself up to the contemplation of Rubens, finding in him also an element of sublimity, how much greater was the enjoyment which those older masters gave me! With these I could surrender myself without reserve to the delight of gazing and admiring, whereas with Rubens, even if I was able to shake off harsher impressions, there always remained a slight feeling of dissatisfaction or desecration.'

Schorn writes to the same effect (*Kunstblatt*, 1828, p. 380). In portrait-painting, also, Jan van Eyck especially excels nearly all later artists. Concerning the double portrait by him in 1434 of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife, Reber says (*Kunstgesch.* p. 634), 'that the resemblance of the portraits is striking is its least merit. Of higher excellence still is the painting of the interior, and of all the accessory work, which is unsurpassed by any production of other epochs, not only in delicacy and finish of execution, but in the general disposition of light and shade, and the tone of the colouring. In these last respects Jan van Eyck appears to have been unsurpassed by any later Dutchman down to Pieter de Hooghe.' It is a point worthy of notice at what an early date Hegel, in his lectures on æsthetics (the latest notes used for the lectures are of the year 1818; see I. *Vorrede* vii. and xi.), vol. iii. p. 118 ff., was able to appreciate the superior excellence of the two Van Eycks.

*** [2] Concerning the popular character of mediæval art, cf. Kraus, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst*, ii. 1, 457. In order to save the so-called German Renaissance period from the reproach of being barren of any great works, certain later art-historians, enamoured of this said 'Renaissance,' have made it begin almost a century earlier than it really did. Thus Woltmann, in his *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, p. 2 ff., says that the Flanders school of painting 'had departed from the spirit and feeling of the Middle Ages, and that it must be included in the "Renaissance" because it had repre-

Even if in the representation of the different parts of the body the artists not infrequently displayed lack of anatomical knowledge, every onlooker is nevertheless greeted by true-hearted German figures, which though fashioned in one and the same technical style, yet display in endless variety all the different types of German nationality. Consequently these pictures made a profound impression on the whole nation, and for nearly a whole century (1420-1520) they determined the character of all native German art.[1] German art

sented nature so admirably;' for the 'Renaissance,' as Schnaase emphatically asserts, is not only a 're-birth of classic antiquity,' but also 'a re-birth of nature, a restoration of nature to humanity.' Hence we are concerned with a twofold re-birth. It follows, moreover, that German folksong, with its exuberant delight in nature, and its close observation of the life of nature, must also be included in the 'Renaissance.' So, too, must German jurisprudence, the definitions, formulas, and symbols of which showed the keenest insight into nature; and even German architecture, which could transform a stone house into a forest of stems, foliage, and flowers, and fill it with countless forms taken from the animal world. It is very pertinently said by Reber (*Kunstgesch.* xxxii.): 'The Flemish-Brabant painting is the highest achievement of mediæval pictorial art in the northern countries, and it forms the close of the Gothic period, not the commencement of a new epoch.' In the Cologne school also, in the paintings of Schongauer, Zeitblom, Wohlgemuth, in part at least resultant from the Brabant school, and chronologically half a century later than the Van Eyck period, we can as little detect any element foreign to the Middle Ages as in the types used by Gutenberg, however much this invention served to advance the development of thought. And just as the Krailsheim altar work of Holbein the Elder, executed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is decidedly Gothic, so too in an out-and-out Gothic Sacrament-house of Adam Krafft, we find it impossible to detect any other than mediæval art. In short, before the sixteenth century there is no trace of a 'Renaissance' in Germany, and even of the initiators of the movement it must be said that Hans Holbein the Younger is the only one whose 'beginnings,' so to say, belong to the new departure; those of a Peter Vischer and of Albert Dürer belong to mediæval ground.

[1] 'The force and energy of Roger van der Weyden and the tenderness of Memling seem still blended in Quentin Massys' (Lübke, *Kunstwerke und Künstler*, p. 418; cf. pp. 548, 575).

methods penetrated even to France and Italy, and still further afield.[1]

The whole fabric of art-life was shattered, almost at one blow, when the frightful tempests of Church schism gathered and discharged themselves over Germany. The domains of art were the first to suffer. There was no longer time or inclination left for art. The religious revolution was in direct antagonism to it. Whatever survived of art or the promotion of art was drawn into the vortex of sectarian controversy, there to perish. The Gothic style died out. A new, foreign kind of art, the 'Renaissance,' made its way into Germany.

[1] Concerning the 'unusual power of attraction' which belonged especially to the earlier German art, we read in Springer's *Bilder*, ii. 11–12: 'It is known to us that Michael Angelo was so greatly interested in the productions of German art that he did not shun the laborious task of copying with his own hands an engraving of Martin Schön. Raphael's honourable appreciation of Dürer is also well known. That multitudes of Italian painters nourished themselves on the creations of German fantasy, falsifying them, and publishing them under their own names, in order to gain renown by them, we should easily discover by comparison, even if Vasari had not, unwillingly enough, let out the secret.' But when, later on, German art succumbed to the Renaissance, and became itself merely a cold and affected imitator, its influence entirely ceased.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION ON THE FINE ARTS—ANTI-ART DOCTRINES AND ICONOCLASM—ART-LIFE BEGINS TO DECAY

Amongst the preachers of the new religious opinions there were multitudes who, like Wickliffe of old, denounced all arts and sciences as devil's traps. Zwingli and his followers designated Christian art, within the churches at any rate, as a snare of the devil which the Roman Antichrist and his rabble had thrown over men's souls. They assumed a hostile attitude towards Christian art in general. The divine word, Zwingli says, distinctly teaches that not only must we not worship images, but that we must not possess them, or fashion them; Zwingli would not even tolerate the pictures of Christ. The Helvetian confession of faith, drawn up by Bullinger, rejected images of Christ as though they were pagan idols, because 'the Lord had commanded to preach the Gospel, not to paint it.' In the Basle Church Regulations of the year 1529, introduced by Oecolampadius, it is said: God has 'cursed all those who make images.' William Farel went so far as to denounce the making of pictures and images as a sin against nature; the Empress Helena, he said, was 'cursed among women,' because by the Invention of the Cross she had introduced the worship of idols. Calvin called the setting-up of pictures and images in churches

a desecration of divine worship; he denounced it as 'miserable folly which had been the destruction of all piety on the earth;' it was also iniquitous to give representations of events from sacred history. Theodore Beza directed his fury especially against pictures of the Crucifixion, which he 'abominated,' he wished that 'the Christian magistracy would reduce all pictures to powder.'

But there was a further strong reason for the removal and the destruction of pictures and images, namely the wish to efface from the minds of the people the memory of the Catholic past, and to prevent a return to the old faith. 'Away with the pictures!' exclaimed Zwingli, 'for they are a prop for the papists; if the nests are demolished, the storks will not come back again.'[1] 'There is no small number of pious and learned men,' wrote the Protestant Professor Zanchi, 'who are of opinion that all the churches of the popish idolaters, as also all other monuments of their superstition, should be destroyed from top to bottom; that every trace of them should be obliterated in order that the people may not, later on, be reminded of this superstitious faith and induced to return to it. For this reason, and also on account of the divine commands, some men, and those, moreover, very learned and pious ones, insist that all the churches in which this idolatrous worship is carried on, especially those which are dedicated to saints, must be utterly destroyed; they also say it is not becoming that Christians should hold their enlightened services in such unclean places.' Of course

[1] Gaupp, pp. 691–708. ⁂ For the documentary evidence cf. Janssen, *Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker*, new edition prepared by L. Pastor (Freiburg, 1895), p. 50 ff.

Zanchi is in full agreement with the above opinions; he commends the destruction of Catholic churches, and says emphatically that often and in many places it is advisable to level Catholic churches with the ground; at the same time he is of opinion that the ruling authorities should everywhere be free to use these buildings for Protestant worship. Zanchi, however, is inexorable as to the necessity of destroying everything which the piety and the artistic sense of the past devised for the adornment of Catholic churches. All altars, he says, all crucifixes, all paintings and sculpture, the priestly garments, the golden chalices, the incense burners, and other similar things—all these instruments of the old superstition must be utterly destroyed; above all must the images be removed, the paintings be daubed over, the statues broken up or burnt. Petrus Martyr Vermigli, an apostate priest, and later on a Protestant professor, urged more particularly, 'Have a care that such things are not merely taken out of the churches, they must be utterly destroyed and not preserved anywhere, or they might later on be placed back again in the churches.'[1]

[1] Cf. Paulus, in the *Katholik*, 1891, i. 210, who adds, greatly to the point: 'When "highly esteemed"' (Schmid, *Stud. und Krit.* 1859, p. 625) 'university professors use such language as this, can we wonder that so many irreplaceable objects of mediæval German art should have fallen a prey to the vandalism of the so-called Reformation? Instead of working themselves up into such fury against the veneration of saints, this merely supposed "idolatry" and superstition, these innovators would do far better to fight against the true superstition of the day—viz. the mania for witches. But, very far from setting themselves against this enormity, they encourage their contemporaries in this respect. In 1574 the preacher of Arfeld, in the county of Wittgenstein, asked Zanchi whether witches ought to be burned. "*Most certainly,*" replied the Heidelberg professor on October 22. Zanchi gave exactly the same answer to the physician, Thomas Erastus.'

Frightful scenes of iconoclasm ensued, first of all in Switzerland, at Zurich, Bern, St. Gall, Basle and other places.[1] In St. Gall, in 1529, all the altars were destroyed, all images broken and smashed up with axes and hammers. 'It was a wonderful tumult and commotion: the fragments were carted out of the church in forty waggons, and that very hour a fire was lighted and they were all burnt to ashes.'

Concerning the riots in Basle, Erasmus reported, as an eye-witness, to Pirkheimer: 'Such sacrilegious mocking went on over the images of saints, and even over the crucifixes, that we could not but feel that some miraculous judgment of God must occur. Not a vestige was left over of the pictures and images, whether in the cloisters, or on the portals, or in the convents; all the paintings were covered with whitewash, and everything that would burn was thrown on to the funeral pile, and the rest smashed to pieces; neither gold-work nor artistic value could avail to save a single object. Of the proceedings at Neuenburg the governor of the place wrote: 'They break the images in pieces, and mutilate the pictures by cutting out their noses and eyes: even those of the Mother of God are thus insulted.' Zwingli's opinion was that 'none but very feeble-minded or cantankerous persons could object to the idols being done away with.'[2]

In Germany, at a much earlier date, viz. during the Peasant War, countless works of art had been destroyed by the 'savage, drunken iconoclasts.' Later on there was inaugurated 'an authorised process of destruction' in all those South German towns which had adopted

[1] See our references, vol. v. pp. 127–143.
[2] Gaupp, pp. 699, 705.

Zwinglianism. 'All that our forefathers had done in piety and love of art, and for the encouragement of noble masters of art, all that for the glory of God and of His Blessed Mother they had erected and established to promote the piety of the people,' says a chronicler, 'was hurled to the ground, dishonoured, cursed, by a degenerate race, to the no small indignation of Christian people.' This sort of thing happened in Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, Reutlingen, Ulm, Memmingen, Biberach, Geislingen, Esslingen, Isny, Augsburg, and elsewhere. Gospel preachers took the lead in the work of destruction, and often themselves lent a hand to 'throw down the accursed idols.' In Memmingen, for instance, the preacher Schenk, so says a report, 'tore down the pictures over the altar, trampled them underfoot, carried them home in cartloads, and set fire to them.'[1] In Ulm, in 1531, the preachers Bucer, Blarer and Oecolampadius were the 'cause of the purging from all idolatrous stuff.' Over fifty altars, all the images of saints on pillars and walls were 'thrown down and smashed up;' what could not be taken away was 'chopped up, hacked to pieces, pounded and trampled on, so that even an adherent of the new faith was forced to exclaim that the beautiful, exquisite, cathedral building was sullied with a blot of shame so infamous that all eternity could never wipe it out.' Not even the magnificent organs were spared, for they too were regarded as 'devil's work.' In the following century the Lutheran superintendent Dietrich still recounted with loathing the horrors of destruction that had gone on. They toppled over in a heap the two beautiful organs, and when they found that they

[1] See fuller details in Gaupp, p. 720 ff.

could not conveniently lift up the body with the pipes in the great organ, they bound cords and chains round it, fastened horses to it, and let them drag it down and hurl it over.' [1]

Wherever the iconoclastic storms raged there was the same wanton destruction of the costliest gold and silver church and art treasures—monstrances, chalices, vessels were either smashed in pieces, sold, or sent to the mint.[2]

In the duchy of Württemberg also, in Hesse, in the Palatinate, an untold number of precious church treasures were swept away. The Elector Palatine, Frederic III., frequently organised the riots himself, and ordered 'pictures, images and church utensils to be broken up and burnt in his presence.' Like Theodore Beza, he was of opinion that not only altars and baptismal fonts, but also crucifixes, were 'objects of idolatry;' he gave directions that everything 'should be entirely cleared out, whether paintings or sculpture.' [3] Many of the princes were eager to show themselves personal combatants against the popish iniquity, as, for instance, Count John of Orange-Nassau, who distinguished himself at Diez in 1577 by striking with his sword the forehead of the beautifully carved and gilded life-size image of the Mother of God.[4]

'Our image-breakers of the new sect,' wrote George Wizel, 'detest and destroy the holy images like very

[1] See our references, vol. v. p. 356 ff. Lübke appears to know nothing of all these atrocities. He reckons (*Bunte Blätter*, p. 94) the Ulm cathedral amongst the number of the churches which 'preserved the old condition of their monuments undamaged from the Middle Ages.'

[2] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 206, note 1; vol. v. pp. 131 ff., 336 ff.

[3] See our references, vol. vii. p. 313 ff.

[4] Vol. viii. p. 397.

Jews and Felicians, tear them down, hack them to pieces and burn them, exactly as though they were trying to win their knightly spurs by giving proofs of their manly courage against dead images.' [1]

Luther was by no means in favour of ruthless iconoclasm such as had been set on foot by Carlstadt and other 'fanatical spirits' in Wittenberg and in many other places in Saxony; on the contrary, he distinctly condemned the action of the mob in proceeding to destroy and disfigure pictures and images without the knowledge and sanction of the municipal authorities. Further, he did not think it was necessary to do away with all images: he held that Christians were free to have them or not to have them, and that it was even 'praiseworthy and estimable' to possess 'mementoes and tokens,' but if they wanted to do away with them—a step which he sanctioned and had in no way hindered—it must be done 'without storming and fanaticism, and in a regular and authorised manner.' 'We read in the Old Testament,' he wrote, 'wherever there is a question of getting rid of images or idols, that the proceedings were not conducted by the populace but by the ruling authorities;' the populace had no right to proceed without the authorities, 'lest the dog should learn to eat leather by biting his strap: that is, accustom themselves to riot against lawful authority by rioting

[1] See Döllinger, *Reformation*, i. 101 (2nd edit.). *** The works of art which were not destroyed or sold, especially the images of saints, found their way into the sacristies which were no longer wanted. As the people, after the example of the founders of the new religion, called the saints 'idols,' the places which served for the housing of the transported art treasures went by the name of 'idol chambers.' This term was actually registered in technical dictionaries! S. Falk, in the *Katholik*, 1891, i. 500.

against images: the devil ought not to be painted over one's door.'

The proper course was to request the authorities to remove the images; 'if they refuse to do so, we have the assurance of the Word of God that it is enough to expel them from our hearts, until they are removed outwardly with the hand by those who have the right to do so.' 'But to speak according to the Gospel concerning the images, I say and insist, that nobody is bound to lay violent hands on pictures or images of God; but all is free, and there is no sin in omitting to damage them with the fist.' [1]

As a matter of fact the 'regular authority' of Lutheran-minded rulers, as displayed in the work of iconoclasm, often differed very slightly from the proceedings of Zwinglians and Calvinists. In the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Order there had been persistent destruction of crosses and images of saints since the year 1525; from the silver art-treasures of the Church, bowls and drinking-cups had been fashioned for the Duke; 'when all the silver had been taken they laid hands on the bells also.' [2] At Stralsund, in 1525, nearly all the Christian churches and convents were stormed, and the crucifixes and images were broken up in the presence of members of the council. In the town of Brunswick, where Luther's 'friend and father

[1] Collected Works, pp. 29, 141 ff. In his exposition of the first commandment he said, in 1528: 'The iconoclasts fall to and pull down the images. This I am not so much concerned to oppose. But they go on to say that this must of necessity be done, and that it is well-pleasing to God. The utmost, however, that they accomplish in this way is to remove the images from the people's sight, and to fix them more firmly in their hearts,' while the populace falsely believes that 'it is giving God pleasure by tearing down the images' (vol. xxxvi. p. 54).

[2] See our remarks, vol. v. pp. 114, 115.

Confessor,' Bugenhagen, had introduced Lutheranism, the altars were all pulled down in the year 1528, the pictures and images smashed up and burnt, the chalices and other church vessels melted. Iconoclastic riots took place at the same time in Hamburg.[1]

The fury of destruction was no less rabid in Magdeburg.[2] The proceedings which the Elector John Frederic, in conjunction with the Landgrave William of Hesse, caused to be carried on in 1542 in the duchy

[1] See our remarks, vol. v. pp. 119–121. At Zerbst, in 1524, the images and church vessels were used 'to keep going the fire for brewing the beer' (Beckmann, *Historie des Fürstentums Anhalt*, vi. 43). On pulling down a portion of the building of the Zerbst Town Hall the wall was found to have been filled up with a quantity of broken figures of saints, still radiant with gold and colour, but destitute of heads, 'whereby an insight was gained into the horrors of the iconoclasm which had run riot in the neighbouring churches' (*Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, pp. 20, 46).

[2] See Fiorillo, *Gesch. der zeichnenden Künste*, ii. 184. Concerning the barbarous destruction of the stone statues of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which stood in front of the *Kreuzkirche* at Hildesheim, by Hildesheim burghers, the chronicler Oldecop (pp. 284–285) writes, in 1548: 'The day after the festival of St. Damasus groups of citizens were collected, some on the "Neuer Schaden" (a tavern), some in front of the Holy Cross church gate, *Kreuzthor*, drinking beer. Amongst them was a rogue, Sander Bruns, from the *Judenstrasse*. He took a big piece of green wood from mine host's courtyard, and got up on the wall by the door of the church of the Holy Cross and struck the head off the stone statue of St. Paul. The head of the statue of St. Peter had been knocked off the night before. The following day information was given as to who was the miscreant. The desperate villain remained undaunted, and he took the heads of two corpses from the mortuary and stuck them up on the stumps of the statues. And at Vesper time there came a number of youths, more than forty, and each had his apron full of stones, and they threw them at the corpse heads, until they knocked them off from the statues of the Apostles. And to some this was good reason for saying: Te Deum Laudamus. Then, in order that no complaint should be made against the rascal Bruns, the council anticipated affairs, and they took twenty florins from the evildoer. And then he was referred to another judge; for the chapter of Holy Cross left all revenging to the Apostles on whom the insult had been committed, and to God, Who is a righteous Judge, and rewards everyone according to his works.'

of Brunswick,[1] were on a par, as regards fury of destruction against the monuments of pious veneration, with the fiercest iconoclastic riots that occurred in 1566 in the Netherlands. Within a few days, over four hundred churches, altars innumerable, Sacrament-houses, pictures and works of sculpture were desecrated and destroyed, and even monuments on graves were not spared.[2] There were highly esteemed Lutheran preachers in the duchy who exulted publicly over these abominations. 'Many a man who heard and saw that so many churches and convents had been plundered, and, in France and Brabant especially, destroyed by fire, was grieved thereat,' preached the Superintendent George Nigrinus in 1570, 'and thought such work came from the wickedness of men: it would all bring the greatest discredit, not only on the lords of the war, but on the evangel itself.' Let those 'of their pack' pity them. 'We know that it is God's judgment and punishment; He has borne long enough with the clerical harlot-houses and temples of idols; He means them now to be reduced to ashes. The work must be done. Yea, if He cannot stir up men to do it, He will use His thunder and lightning.' 'His bow is still stretched, His sword sharp and sure, His fire still burns on, devours and licks up bishoprics and convents one after the other.' 'Only let us not have pity on them, but let us praise God, the righteous judge, and be glad to rejoice in the kingdom of heaven, in this time of grace in the preaching of the Gospel.' [3]

[1] Vol. vi. p. 204.

[2] See our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 22, 23. Detailed information is given in Rathgeber's *Annalen*, pp. 196–199.

[3] Nigrinus, *Apocalypse*, pp. 631, 643, 649. According to the title these sermons were to minister 'to the comfort and improvement of all true Christians.' In the preface of January 25, 1572, it is said that the sermons 'were preached two years before.'

Another pulpit-orator, who wanted 'all images routed out from top to bottom,' reminded his hearers that Luther himself had repeatedly preached that 'it would be better that all churches and abbeys in the world should be rooted out and burnt to ashes, that it would be less sinful, even if done from criminal motives, than that a single soul should be led astray into popish error and be ruined.' If people would not accept his teaching, then he, 'the God's man Luther had exclaimed, wished not only that his teaching might be the cause of the destruction of popish churches and convents, but he wished that they were already lying in a heap of ashes.' [1]

As regards Christian art, Luther had repeatedly expressed himself greatly in favour of it. 'I am not of opinion,' he wrote in the preface to his booklet of sacred hymns of the year 1524, 'that the Gospel requires all arts to be abolished, as some false clergy insist, but I should wish all arts, especially music, to be used in the service of Him Who gave and created them.' [2] In the following year he spoke in accordance with the old Church system to the effect that 'pictures should be painted on the walls as helps to the memory and to better understanding.' 'It is far better,' he wrote, 'to paint on the walls the way in which God created the world, how Noah built the ark, and any other sacred stories, than to paint up any other worldly, shameless thing; yea, would God I could persuade the great lords and the rich people to have the whole

[1] A Whitsuntide sermon of K. Reinholdt (1560), Bl. A^2. The utterances of Luther which have been quoted, and others also of the same kind, in his Collected Works, pp. 7, 121, 131, 222-223, 330. *** See the remarks of the Protestant Professor Zanchi, given above, pp. 29, 30.

[2] Collected Works, pp. 56, 297.

Bible painted inside and outside their houses for everybody's eyes to see: that would be a Christian work.' 'If it is not sinful, but good and holy that I should have Christ's image in my heart, why should it be sinful for me to have it in my eyes?'[1] At the same time he abolished those very doctrines of faith which, till then, had supplied Christian art with its most fertile sources of inspiration and achievement.[2] For instance, the old

[1] Collected Works, pp. 29, 158–159 (cf. C. Grüneisen, *De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto*, Stuttg. et Tubingæ, 1839). Quotations therefrom in Schorn's *Kunstblatt*, pp. 20, 258. ** P. Lehfeldt, in Luther's *Verhältniss zu Kunst und Künstleren* (Berlin, 1892), shows that 'Luther could not lay claim to any understanding of the language of the plastic arts, or of the scope and nature of the service they could render, for on this particular side he was wholly deficient in susceptibility. Luther's multitudinous remarks on works of art all testify to this want of artistic sense' (p. 93). At p. 21 ff. Lehfeldt shows how 'Luther on his Roman journey was only to a certain extent interested in all that we to-day think worthy of contemplation.' His impressions of travel generally appear 'in this direction extremely barren, his remarks on all he saw devoid of originality, his opinions often erroneous.' Respecting some of the works of sculpture and painting, Luther allowed himself to be altogether gulled by other monks. 'Some of Luther's utterances,' it is said at p. 32, 'which apparently betoken special understanding of painting, stand in juxtaposition to others which plainly show the perverted dilettante idea that art is to be regarded as subordinate to religion.' Now the influence of Luther's personality, as in all other departments so also in that of art, especially in the narrower circle of Saxon and Thuringian artists, was as powerful as it was dangerous, for he compelled the artists to overstep the limits of their domain, and drove them into false lines (pp. 94–95). Fuller details at pp. 93–97. Concerning the general development of art in the sixteenth century, Lehfeldt says, at p. 84: 'The rock on which art made shipwreck was not, as a recent art-writer says, the fact that "German art was too early severed from its bond with the Church," but that, with regard to its subject-matter and its methods of expression, it was forced into false service by the leading men of the intellectual and religious movement.' But how could it have been brought into this false service if it had remained in union with the Church? Concerning Protestantism and art, see also Nagl-Zeidler, p. 654 ff.; L. Vaury, *Le Protestantisme et l'art*; Thèse-Montauban, 1899; and Müntz, in the *Revue des Revues*, Mars et Juillet 1900.

[2] Fuller details in Gaupp, pp. 566–584. Cf. Graus, p. 29.

Catholic belief in the real presence of the Saviour in the Sacred Host and the custom of preserving the Host in the churches, not only led to the production of quantities of Sacrament-houses, but also engendered a feeling of veneration for places of worship, as the veritable habitations of God, akin to the reverence of the Old Testament Jews for the Ark of the Covenant and the Holy of Holies; later on also for Solomon's Temple, for the adornment of which nothing was thought too costly.[1]

Again, the doctrine of good works had been one of the most powerful factors in the development of art: the most exquisite creations of architecture, sculpture and painting had sprung from the belief that it was well pleasing in the sight of God to erect churches, and to adorn them with all the highest beauty that the hand of the artist could produce.

This view of things, however, excited Luther's deepest indignation; he declared it to be not only 'the greatest abuse' but even 'idolatry.' When in 1522 and 1523 he preached and wrote against the iconoclasts, he blamed the latter for defending their proceedings on the ground that the people prayed to the images; for, said he, the papists might answer: 'You were senseless in that you charged them with

[1] Respecting the influence of Protestantism on sacred art, Alberdingk Thijm (p. 123) says: 'Il suffit de remarquer que le protestantisme avait mis au rang des damnables hérésies le principe même de l'art, c'est-à-dire le protestantisme avait proscrit l'apparition matérielle de l'essence spirituelle, la manifestation de l'infini dans le fini. Combattre et abolir le mystère de la Sainte-Eucharistie . . . c'était défendre à l'art de se produire dans ses expressions les plus sublimes, dans la représentation matérielle de la Divinité. Au fond de toute question se retrouve la question religieuse ou théologique; personne ne s'en étonnera, puisque le principe de toutes choses se trouve en Dieu.'

praying to wood and stone.' The right way to answer this accusation of the iconoclasts was: 'What right have you to accuse us of having prayed to images? How can you see into our hearts? How can you tell whether we have prayed to them or not? To this answer they would remain dumb.'

'I hold, therefore, that there is no man alive who has such dull understanding as to think: This crucifix is my Christ and my God; but he looks upon it as a symbol by which he is kept in mind of the Lord Christ and of His suffering.' On the other hand, 'the greatest and best reason' why it is better 'to have no images at all' lies herein, that 'when some one has set up an image in a church, he soon comes to think that he has thereby conferred a service and benefit on God, and has done a good work, by which he will deserve something from God; and that is sheer idolatry, of which the world is full.' 'For who would place a wooden, still less a silver or golden, image in a church if he did not think he was rendering God a service in so doing? Do you think, moreover, that princes, bishops, and other great magnates would have so many costly silver and gold images made for their churches and abbeys if they did not think it would be some gain to them with God? No, indeed, they would soon give it up.' Preachers must preach that 'the images were nothing,' that 'one could not do God any service by setting up images;' then these things would cease and die out of themselves[1] Five years later Luther said in his commentary on the first commandment: 'When the people are taught that with God nothing avails but

[1] Collected Works, pp. 28, 225–229, 309–310. See also the letter of April 25, 1522, to Count Louis of Stalberg, in De Wette, ii. 188.

His own grace and tender mercy, the images will drop out of themselves and fall into contempt, for the people will think to themselves: "If, then, it's no good work to make images, let the devil make images and painted pictures: I shall henceforth keep my money in my pocket or lay it out in a better way." '[1]

This teaching was frequently only too faithfully followed. In many places of Lutheran persuasion the images and works of art were not taken out of the churches, but new ones were seldom added. Wherever the new doctrine of 'faith alone' prevailed, it soon happened as Luther had predicted: 'People would not long go on founding churches, building altars, setting up images, when they no longer thought they were doing God a service thereby.'[2]

Ecclesiastical architecture, which, as the outcome of the nation's piety and love of sacrifice, had formerly produced the grandest works, and had dominated the whole system of building, fell into the background in all the Protestant districts. Not only were no fresh sacred edifices built, but many of those already begun were left unfinished; many were pulled down, because under the new thought they were no longer needed, and princely castles were built out of their stones;[3] many were turned to secular uses. In Ulm, for instance, they ceased building on to the cathedral as early as 1529, and the chapel of St. Valentine was turned into a grease-market; they were obliged, however, to forbid the people to play ninepins in the churchyard, to throw

[1] Collected Works, pp. 36, 50. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 15, 518.

[3] For instance, in Wismar and Güstrow; see Lisch, *Jahrbücher*, iii. 59, and v. 15, note 2; 23, note 1; 51. In Silesia, Wiburg, and so forth, ten large churches, and more, were rased to the ground (Pontoppidan, *Annales*, iii. 34).

stones at the windows, and otherwise to misbehave themselves within the precincts.[1]

In Brunswick the building of the tower of the Church of St. Andrew was stopped 'because they had gone over to Luther's teaching.'[2]

Before the outbreak of the religious revolution, artists and art-workers of all sorts had had 'plenty to do' in consequence of the general activity in building and the multitudinous orders 'for images and carving, for gold and silver ornamentation, and other church-treasures, and church-plate, and costly vestments for divine service, which were given by private individuals of high and low degree, by brotherhoods, by guilds, and by Christians of all classes and both sexes.' 'There is an end now to all this,' we read in a pamphlet of 1524. 'Churches and convents are no longer built and adorned, but, on the contrary, they are destroyed, and numbers of hands are thrown out of work;' 'art of a noble kind is no longer much wanted.'[3]

Artists and art-workers broke out in complaints on this score. They reproached Luther in the following doggerel:

All church building and adorning he despises,
Treats with scorning,
He not wise is.

But this was a complaint of the godless, concerning which Christ is appealed to for judgment:

Bell-founders and organists,
Gold-beaters and illuminists,

[1] Pressel, *Ulm und sein Münster*, pp. 114, 115.

[2] See *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, i. 288.

[3] *Glos und Comment uff LXXX. Artickeln und Ketzeryen der Lutherischen*, &c. (Strassburg, 1534), Bl. K[3]. ** See also *Basler Chroniken*, published by Vischer-Stern (Leipzig, 1872), i. 388.

Hand-painters, carvers and goldsmiths,
Glass-painters, silk-workers, coppersmiths,
Stone-masons, carpenters and joiners . . .
'Gainst all these did Luther wield a sword;
From Thee we ask a verdict, Lord.

Christ's verdict is then introduced; the complainants, who His Word—namely Luther's teaching—

With scorn disdain
From greed of gain,

must cease to be 'careful concerning worldly goods, like unto the heathen, but must seek the kingdom of God with eagerness, and things temporal will be added unto them; otherwise, hell-fire will be their reward.' [1]

But there soon followed other charges which Hans Sachs no longer put into the mouth of artists and art-workers, but into that of 'the Muses;' formerly, he said, the arts 'had been held in veneration in Germany by young and old;' every corner of the land had been full of scholars, and everywhere there were 'free artists and artistic workmen without end;' now, on the contrary, all the arts were considered worthless and despicable; pleasure, power, and pomp were the only things sought after, and everyone was intent only on gaining money:

Ah, do but see
How usury, deceit and fraud
In Germany now stalk abroad.
Who gold has got wants nothing more,
And art is valueless therefore.
And we must perish from starvation,
Be ruined with this foolish nation.
From Germany, then, we will depart,
Leave it senseless and bare of art.[2]

[1] See Weller, *Hans Sachs*, pp. 118–120.

[2] Hans Sachs, iv. 124–127. See his lament of the year 1558, vol. viii. p. 615.

It was this same complaint which the Protestant art-writer, Walter Rivius of Nuremberg, raised in 1548: 'it is pitiful,' he said, 'that in these days excellent artists not only get no honour, but they cannot even earn their daily bread.' Rivius also gave as the reason for this state of things that 'finance, usury, and fraud have reached such a pitch, and asserted themselves so shamelessly that not only were the laudable arts regarded as beggary, and little thought of, but they were in the highest measure despised and ridiculed.' [1] About the same time a third Protestant writer, Henry Vogtherr of Strassburg, said unhesitatingly, in the preface to his 'Kunstbüchlein,' that owing to the new evangel the arts had fallen into decay. 'God had,' he said, 'by a special dispensation of His Holy Word, now in these our days brought about a noticeable decline and arrest of all the subtle and liberal arts, whereby numbers of people had been obliged to withdraw from these arts and to turn to other kind of handicraft.' 'It might, therefore, be expected that in a few years there would scarcely be found any persons in German lands working as painters and carvers.' [2]

[1] Rivius, *Vitruv* (Basle edition of 1614), pp. 45–46, 181, 369.

[2] Preface to the *Kunstbüchlein*, Strassburg, 1545. That even before the religious revolution there were (as Lange, *Flötner*, p. 17, asserts) frequent complaints of the decline of art is undoubtedly true. This, however, does not detract from the force of Janssen's evidence. Lange himself is obliged (*loc. cit.*) to allow that the special department of ecclesiastical art underwent deterioration owing to the Reformation. 'The Reformation,' says Bezold (*Baukunst der Renaissance in Deutschland*, p. 14), 'has no immediate relation to the plastic arts, and was not conducive to their progress, least of all to architecture.' 'We cannot deny,' says another Protestant writer, 'that in consequence of the Church reform the interest in art decreased both in our district and in other Lutheran—and still more in Calvinistic—countries. Even though iconoclasm did not invade our territory, the minds of our people were not unaffected by the teachings

In Basle, as early as 1526, the whole body of painters had represented to the council how badly they fared, as married men with wives and children, for want of employment; now, too, they were further injured by shops which had taken to selling false beards and carnival masks; they begged that the council would forbid this practice, as it was the exclusive right of the painters to supply these stage properties.[1]

The Bernese painter, Nicholas Manuel, betook himself to military service, because art no longer maintained his family.[2]

'By reason of the imperative necessity for mainten-

of John of Leyden and of the Münster Anabaptists. If there were no other evidence in proof of this statement—such, for instance, as the issue of the mandate against the Anabaptists in 1535—its truth would be indubitably confirmed by the fact that among the quantities of fine images and statues of past epochs found in our churches, there is scarcely one belonging to the latter half of the sixteenth century.' 'The gold and silver church treasures were sold by public auction, without any regard to their value as works of art; as, for instance, amongst others, those of the Church of St. Peter, presumably as early as 1535, and others on July 7, 1560, and March 19, 1565.'

Zeitschrift f. Hamburger Gesch. v. 258. Noteworthy, also, as corroborating Janssen's opinion is a Strassburg *Ratsprotocoll*, February 3, 1525: 'Painters and sculptors petition that, *whereas through the Word of God their handicraft has died out*, they may be provided with posts before other claimants.' The answer was: 'Let them be informed that, as offices fall vacant, if they will make application, their appeals shall be borne in mind . . .' in the minutes of the Society for the Preservation of Historic Monuments in Alsatia, xv. (Strassburg, 1892), 248.

[1] Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 340.

[2] Grüneisen, p. 89. ⁂ Concerning the Schlettstadt sculptors Paul Windeck and Sixt Schultheiss, who became town messengers, see Gény, *Die Reichsstadt Schlettstadt und ihr Antheil an der socialpolitischen und religiösen Bewegungen der Jahre* 1490–1536 (explanations and additions to Janssen's *Hist. of the German People*, edited by Ludwig Pastor, vol. i.; Heft 5 u. 6 [Freiburg, 1900], p. 149). Sometimes, however, it was purely politico-economic reasons which reduced artists to poverty. Concerning Flötner, Lange's emphatic assertion to this effect is quite right. *Flötner*, p. 18 ff.

ance of wives and children, now that, in the painters' and in other art trades, there was little more to do and little traffic,' the restrictions in the towns against 'foreign competition' became more severe than ever before, and the free exercise of art was greatly limited. In Ratisbon, for instance, the foreign painter, George Böheim, was only allowed to paint the sepulchre of Sebastian Schilter, and was forbidden, on pain of punishment, to undertake any other work.[1] The painter, Matthew Kager, who wanted to settle in Augsburg, was bound over only to work at frescoes, and never to paint in oils.[2] Because the Brieg painters were short of work, they got a written agreement drawn up that not more than three foreigners were to be admitted.[3] Many families of renowned artists such as that of Hans Burgkmair, ended in misery.[4] The famous painter and wood-carver, Michael Ostendorfer, lived at Ratisbon in the most needy circumstances; the pay that he received from the Protestant Council for his art-work was so meagre as scarcely to cover the expense of his colours, oil, and canvas. He was, and continued to be; 'the poor Michael,' 'the disconsolate Michael.' 'If my lords the councillors,' he once wrote, 'would graciously send me a measure of meal, it would be quite a boon to me, and very helpful, indeed, in my work.' The pangs of hunger and grief at the slight esteem in which his art was held were largely to blame for that wantonness of

[1] Gumpelzhaimer, ii. 980.

[2] Rée, p. 83.

[3] Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, ii. 356. Further evidence showing how greatly the freedom of art work had become restricted in Andresen, ii. 211; Rée, pp. 83-84; Merlo, master of the old Cologne school of painters, p. 220.

[4] See Von Lützow, *Zeitschr.* pp. 19, 399.

conduct which occasioned such frequent and serious complaints against him.[1]

At Frankfort-on-the-Main the painter, Jerome Wannecker, was driven by poverty and grief to hanging himself.[2]

The life of Hans Holbein the Younger is an object-lesson concerning the influence of the religious revolution on German art. In 1526, true to the old Catholic conception and technique of art, and moved by strong inward feeling and pious veneration, he produced his incomparable 'Madonna of the Burgomaster James Meyer,' a representation of the Holy Virgin as the mother of mercy spreading her mantle over the figures kneeling before her.[3] It was his last great religious work; indeed, it was one of the last religious masterpieces of the sixteenth century. In Basle, where Holbein lived, complete stagnation of all artistic activity was the result of the religious revolution. Holbein was obliged to give up working at his beautiful wall pictures for the town council house,[4] and to take to ordinary house-painter's work in order to earn his daily bread. Want of employment drove him to England. 'Here the arts are freezing,' wrote Erasmus in 1526, in a letter in which he gave Holbein an introduction to a friend at Antwerp. In 1528 Holbein returned to Basle. During the carnival of the follow-

[1] Fuller details in Schuegraf, pp. 8–76. Specially noteworthy are the remarks concerning the preparation of his altar-work for the parish church, pp. 34–43. See Gumpelzhaimer, ii. 893.

[2] Kirchner, *Gesch. von Frankfurt*, ii. 460.

[3] Cf. C. von Lützow in the separate section devoted to the 'Chronik für vervielfältigende Kunst,' 1888, No. 1. To a period earlier than 1526 this master-work cannot be put back; cf. E. His in v. Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, iii. 157.

[4] Cf. Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 293–302.

ing year the great iconoclastic storm broke out. Several of Holbein's works were destroyed on that occasion. The announcement of the Basle Council in its new 'regulations' concerning religious pictures and images, that 'God has cursed all those who make images,' gave this great artist little prospect of fresh orders; the sole tasks left him were to finish the pictures for the town hall, and to revarnish the image of the 'Lalenkönig' on the clockwork of the Rheinthor. In order to obtain employment he turned his steps again towards England,[1] and he never returned to Basle, although the town council assured him that they would provide for him better in future, to enable him to feed his wife and children. In England he became court-painter to Henry VIII., and was obliged to paint portraits of the King, and his courtiers and concubines. His higher capacities were in the main restricted to taking portraits. In addition to this his chief occupation consisted in making designs for practical art-work, table ornaments, beakers, clocks, dagger-sheaths, and so forth. At his death in 1543 he left a legacy of debts, and property to the amount of one horse and sundry other items. For his brother German artists it was no good example that he set in taking no further thought for his wife and children at Basle. In his will there is no allusion to them, but only mention of two other children born in England out of wedlock. To these he left, out of the profits of his possessions, and after payment of his debts, a monthly sum of seven shillings and sixpence.[2]

[1] 'Thereby Germany lost the greatest historic painter it had ever possessed, without having made use of his powers,' says Janitschek, in his *History of German Art*, iii. 463.

[2] Woltmann, ii. 358–360; Grimm, *Künstler und Kunstwerke*, ii. 129. W. A. Becker (i. 391) actually excuses Holbein's neglect of his wife

And so one of the greatest artists ever born on German soil ended his days, homeless, in a foreign land.[1]

The old Church had been the mother and fosterer of the arts; the new Church cannot claim as its offspring any striking monuments or productions of religious art.

In the department of painting, the workshops of Lucas Cranach, 'who was renowned as the greatest painter in the service of the holy evangel,' sent forth numbers of dogmatising, denominational pictures, executed for the purpose of setting forth the Lutheran doctrine of justification, but in all these productions *art*, as such, had little place.[2] Since the middle of the

and family as follows: 'When one beholds the picture which he painted of his wife and children ("the unattractive, dismal woman with red eyes, the plain girl, and the miserable-looking boy"), it becomes obvious that it would have been out of the question for him to take them into the circles in which he was received in London, apart from the fact that he was only too glad to keep the fresh sphere in which he was then living free from the storms of married life'!

** [1] 'Hans Holbein the Younger,' says Sighart (*Gesch. der bildenden Künste im Konigreich Bayern*, p. 599), 'was an artistic genius of an all-sidedness which few before or after him have displayed.' Cf. also the article by A. Zottmann, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere* (a memorial to the four hundredth anniversary of his birthday). *Beil. zur Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1897, No. 34 ff.

[2] On this point most of the art historians are agreed. See Rosenberg, p. 25; Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 249–252; Woltmann, *Deutsche Kunst und Reformation*, pp. 35–36. 'The text inscribed under the picture was necessary for explaining the thought-enigma' (Lindau, pp. 239–240). Cranach's 'Sündenfall' was pasted over with texts suitable to the subject (Schuchardt, iii. 200; cf. ii. 107–109). Cranach's 'large altar-pictures in the town churches of Wittenberg and Weimar are chiefly conspicuous for their lack of depth and originality. They preach dogmas of faith, but amongst his figures there is seldom seen one head which gives evidence of any depth of conception and vigorous spiritual life' (Leixner, p. 231). 'It is true,' says Schnaase (*Kunstblatt*, 1849, No. 14), 'that Cranach, at his death, left behind him a school of art, but it was a stereotyped school whose productions were only distinguished from those of the master by a decrease of merit, not by any original talent, and he had no permanent

sixteenth century religious art had come entirely to an end in all the Protestant parts of Germany.[1]

Once more it was plain to see how intimately art is associated with the events and occurrences of the general life of the nation; how truly, as in a mirror, it reflects the whole picture of any given age. Apart from all other causes which worked for its destruction, religious art was bound to go gradually to ruin on

influence on art. At the period when the breach with its pre-Reformation traditions came generally and prominently into notice—and this is the period which may be described as "the epoch of Protestant art"—German art was as a tree stript of its leafage by the religious storms of the sixteenth century, and whose last blossoms Cranach and Holbein had taken with them to the grave' (Lindau, pp. 122–123). ** See also Janitschek in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iii. 495, and Lehfeldt in the passage quoted above, p. 39, n. 1.

[1] 'The confined creeds, which were the outcome of the reform movements, had no affinity with art. Even the Catholic counter-reformation possessed more creative power.' 'Through the latter there coursed a stream of life which was entirely lacking in Protestantism' (Woltmann, *Deutsche Kunst und Reformation*, p. 37). Nothing but sectarian narrowness could deny that German, above all plastic art, stood higher before the Reformation than after it. For nearly two centuries architecture, sculpture, and painting produced nothing more in Germany that could be compared with the creations of these different arts either immediately before or simultaneously with the schism in the Church' (Scherr, *Germania*, p. 240). 'The Protestant world gave itself up to enslavement by the clergy.' 'All fresh and living religious life had completely disappeared; formalism ruled everywhere.' 'Here the letter, there morality. With these men's consciences had to be satisfied. How could religious art grow from such a soil, how enthusiasm for the production of fine church buildings, how zeal for the creation of nobly conceived pictures of religious or Biblical life?' (Falke, *Gesch. des Geschmacks*, pp. 148–149). It is a general principle, says Riegel, *Grundriss der bildenden Künste*, p. 279, that 'there is no such thing as Protestant art, for as soon as art aims at being religious it at once and of necessity becomes Catholic.' 'After the downfall of Catholicism, owing to Luther's reformation,' says Bergau (*Inventory of the Architectural and Art Monuments of the Province of Brandenburg* [Berlin, 1885], p. 7), 'ecclesiastical architecture ceased entirely in the land of Brandenburg.' See Reichensperger, in the *Lit. Handweiser*, 1886, p. 21.

account of the deadly poison infused into it by the religious dissensions.

Formerly art had been the 'expression of the holiest and highest sentiments,' it had lifted men out of their earthly troubles, and 'announced the joyous message from the other world,' it had ministered to reverence and edification, and as 'a noble daughter of heaven,' had preached a gospel of peace; now it found itself drawn away into the tumultuous whirlpool of religious party strife, and pressed into the service of the demon of hatred and scorn.

CHAPTER III

ART IN THE SERVICE OF SECTARIAN POLEMICS [1]

Just as in the fifteenth century the Hussites produced 'numbers of scandalous pictures' in ridicule of the Pope and the clergy,[2] so now 'in Germany a great many engravers, wood-carvers, and painters thought to distinguish themselves and to make large sums of money (notwithstanding that the object of art was to promote piety, peace and spirituality) by producing and disseminating innumerable caricatures and libellous pictures, which served no other purpose than to stir up odious and unclean sentiments against clergy and laity alike.' [3]

These productions, in addition to the hatred which they exhibit, show also a taste for things base and impure. A chief representative of this degenerate art-tendency was the Bernese painter, Nicholas Manuel,

[1] It will be no less unpleasant to the reader of this section to find in it much scandalous matter than it was to the author to collect together all the objectionable details. But the work seemed necessary in order to give a complete picture of the times, and to show by this great mass of circumstantial evidence that the ills in question were not confined to mere isolated cases, but represented a general tendency running through the whole age. As in the field of literature, so also, to a certain extent, in that of art, the Thirty Years' War of annihilation was preceded by a century of religious warfare. ** This Thirty Years' War, Lehfeldt (p. 99) also allows, 'is the last stage of this decadence (the decline of art), most certainly not the beginning of the disappearance of culture and art.'

[2] See Schultz, *Gesch. der Breslauer Maler-Innung*, p. 12, note 2.

[3] *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers* (1617), Bl. 9ᵃ.

who assailed the Catholic Church at every point with showers of venomous rancour and shameless ridicule. He went so far as to make a picture of the resurrection of Christ the handle for an improper scene between a monk and a nun.[1]

Hans Holbein, especially during his sojourn in England as court-painter to Henry VIII., worked actively in the service of the Protestants. In a series of drawings in which he represented the passion of Christ, the judges, accusers, and executioners of the Saviour are personified by the Pope, and by monks and priests. Judas Iscariot is a monk, Caiaphas is the Pope, who pronounces the sentence, and those who scourge and mock and lead the Saviour to death are priests of the Church.[2]

The lampoons and libellous pamphlets which, from the beginning of the religious revolution had been distributed in such quantities, were often illustrated by woodcuts which 'supplied the common people with

[1] Grüneisen, p. 185. On his coat-of-arms there are two priests in wolf-skins who are holding the rosary beads in the wolf's claws (p. 183). Respecting Manuel as painter, F. S. Vögelin says, in *Baechtold CX.*: 'Though he had grown up in the Catholic faith, and had served it as artist, he early turned his mind and his art against the edifice of Catholicism. He was not least among the contributors to its ruin, but at the same time he shook the foundations of his own art industry. The Reformation destroyed sacred art, but it did not build up in its place a school of national art.'

[2] Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 225 ff. Respecting two wood-engravings of an earlier period ascribed to Holbein 'Ablasshandel' (traffic in indulgences) and 'Christ the True Light,' cf. Woltmann, ii. 74–75; Passavant, iii. 380, Nos. 28, 29. In this last engraving the Pope, a bishop, a prebendary, and a monk are turning their backs to the light and hurrying with closed eyes to a precipice, with Aristotle and Plato in front of them. The latter has already fallen down the precipice. The artist here embodies the exhortations of multitudes of preachers to disregard, to disdain, Greek philosophy.

rare counterfeits and caricatures of the accursed, devilish race of clergy.' One of these illustrations, for instance, represents a priest on a bank opposite a church ; a devil floating in the air had stuck the broken-off point of the church tower in the priest's mouth ; another devil in the air holds in each hand a tablet on which two keys are crossed. A second pamphlet has on its title-page a fat pope whom devils are carrying up on high ; in a third the Pope is on his throne surrounded with cardinals, bishops, clergy and monks, each wearing a wolf's head ; geese are strutting round about and cackling prayers, while a monk with a cat's head is playing on a lute ; a fourth shows a bishop and a monk each with a cat's head, another with a buck's head, who are all storming against a cross.[1] The reiterated imperial commands that 'nothing calumnious, no pasquilles, or anything of the sort, were to be written, printed, painted, engraved or cast,' and that such writings, paintings, engravings, &c., were not to be put up for sale and hawked about, were for the most part ineffectual.[2]

On one occasion, in 1549, the town council at Nuremberg caused certain scandalous and calumnious pictures directed against the Catholic Church, its doctrines and its priests, to be taken away and their disseminators to be turned out of the town. But 'slanderous pictures' of this sort reappeared again and again. After the Emperor had made repeated complaints on this score, the council, in 1551, laid the blame

[1] Schade, i. 181 (cf. p. 180), and ii. 352, and iii. 221, 255 ; Hagen, ii. 181.

[2] Commands of this sort are recorded by Voigt, *Über Pasquille*, pp. 351–358.

on the foreign messengers and letter-carriers 'who spread such things among the common people.' [1]

Concerning the influence of all this flood of caricature Luther had already expressed himself at the time of the Peasants' War. 'The common people,' he wrote on June 2, 1525, to the Archbishop Albert of Mayence, 'are now widely informed and enlightened as to the nonentity of the clerical status; wherever one goes one sees on all the walls, on all sorts of bits of paper, even on playing-cards, caricatures of priests and monks,' so that 'one now experiences a feeling of disgust on seeing or hearing of a clerical person.' [2]

Luther himself was not in any way concerned to protect art from such excesses. In 1526 he called on his followers to 'assail the noble race of idolaters of the Roman Antichrist by means of painting;' the dirt and dregs, with 'which they would like to fill the world with its stink, must be stirred up till they are fain to stop up their jaws and their nostrils.' 'Cursed be he who remains idle in this matter, while he knows that he can do God a service by helping it on.' [3]

Lucas Cranach was most ready of all to follow this exhortation. In 1521 he had already fought the papacy in a 'Passional Christi und Anti-Christi;' [4]

[1] J. Baader in Von Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, i. 225–226; cf. p. 233, the edicts of the council against the *Formschneider*, 'who were to abstain from all scurrilous poetry and painting.'

[2] De Wette, *Letters of Luther*, ii. 674.

[3] See our remarks, vol. iv. 355–356. The drawings for the woodcuts of this representation of the papacy were done by Hans Sebald Beham; cf. Rosenberg, xi.–xii. 126, No. 211.

[4] *Passional Christi und Antichristi.* Lucas Cranach's woodcuts to the text of Melanchthon, with an introduction by G. Kawerau (Berlin, 1885); ** Lehfeldt, p. 65. Concerning a series of pictures (no longer extant) in the chapel of the castle of Smalcald, connected with these woodcuts, the execution of which was entrusted by the Landgrave William about

later on he issued from Wittenberg all manner of caricatures and scurrilous pictures, and even, as an old man of seventy-three, he produced, in illustration of the papacy, his collection of woodcuts, some of which were unspeakably low, and which Luther published in 1545 in his own name and supplied with rhymes. Luther, says his enthusiastic admirer, Mathesius, 'in the year 1545 was instrumental in the production of many vigorously conceived pictures, which represented, for the benefit of those who could not read, the true nature and monstrosity of the Antichrist, just as the Spirit of God in the Apocalypse of St. John depicted the red whore of Babylon.' [1]

In one of these woodcuts of Cranach the Pope holds a bull of excommunication, out of which flames and stones are being emitted against two men who are standing before his Holiness, with their hind parts naked turned towards him. In another the Pope, in full pontifical array, is seen riding on a sow, and blessing with his right hand a heap of reeking dung which he carries in his left hand, and towards which the sow is stretching its snout.[2]

1587 to George Kronhard, painter to the castle, while his fifteen-year-old son Moritz composed the verses for them, cf. O. Gerland, 'Die Antithesis Christi et Papae,' in the castle church at Smalcald, in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Gesch. und Landeskunde.* New series, xvi. 189–201.

[1] *Historien von des ehrwürdigen in Gott seligen teuren Mannes Gottes Lutheri,* &c. (Nuremberg. 1570), Bl. 167[b].

[2] [For further descriptions the reader is referred to the German original, vol. vi. p. 42.—TRANSLATOR.]

Schuchardt, *Cranach,* i. 176, and ii. 248–255; also iii. 231; reprinted at the first Reformation jubilee in the year 1617. Cf. also our remarks, vol. vi. pp. 273 and 274, note 1. A. W. Becker (i. 360) describes these artistic performances of Cranach as 'solid food which the healthy "stomachs" produced by the sound culture and customs of the epoch could stand and assimilate'! Lindau, who in his biography of Cranach eulogises the latter as the 'most chaste and genuine painter

Peter Gottland, a pupil of Cranach, depicted Christ as a triumphant boy, driving the shaft of a spear into the body of a four-footed monster with three heads, one of which was a pope's head with a tiara; from the pierced body snakes are issuing.[1] By another artist the Pope was drawn as a three-headed dragon; by a third as spitting poison; by a fourth as a gambler in the company of devils, Turks and Jews; by a fifth as a glutton at a dissolute banquet; by a sixth he was drawn seated on a dragon whose throat represented the entrance into hell, into which abode the devil, with a birdcatcher's mirror, was enticing emperors, kings, bishops, princes and lords, priests and merchants.[2]

of the Reformation' (p. 401), does not give his readers any idea of the nature of these caricatures. He mentions them only (p. 341) as 'a collection of pictures which Cranach from time to time produced in opposition to the papacy.' ** C. Wendeler (*M. Luthers Bilderpolemik gegen das Papstthum von* 1545, in the *Archiv für Literatur-Gesch.* pp. 14, 17–40) remarks, on the other hand, that 'the coarse-grained satire' of that production was in certain instances repulsive even to the taste of the sixteenth century, accustomed, as it was, to nudities of every kind. Lehfeldt also (p. 67) speaks of 'pictures that were sometimes highly objectionable and offensive,' declares himself opposed to the belief in Cranach's authorship, and concludes by saying: 'Whoever the author may have been, we may note as an interesting point that, in the series of woodcuts of 1545 there is, in relation to earlier woodcuts of a similar tendency, a strong infusion of Lutheran influence on the technical method. This influence has been by no means a happy one as far as art is concerned.'

[1] Schuchardt, *Cranach*, iii. 105–106.

[2] Catalogue of these and other caricatures in Drugulin, p. 21, Nos. 112, 115, 119; further, p. 22, Nos. 120–124, 136, and p. 39, Nos. 322, 324. Bartsch, viii. 413, and ix. 157. Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, iii. 126, 309 (cycle of ten caricatures), and iv. 182, 224, 227, 281; Heller, pp. 361, 872, 873, 893; Andresen, iii. 46–48. Cf. also the libellous pictures in the *Antithesis de praeclaris Christi et indignis Papae facinoribus* . . . per Zachariam Durentium (the book-printer), 1557, without locality. The Westphalian copper-engraver, Henry Aldegrever, in his works, 'handed over the clerical power to every species of ridicule and contempt.' His works 'gained ever more and more the approval of the burghers at Soest, who were

A slightly coloured pen-and-ink drawing of Peter Vischer of the year 1534 is full of fierce hostility against the Pope. It represents the Vatican being destroyed by flames; some of the inmates are lying on the ground, others are fleeing from the fire; one poor peasant-man with his flail on his back, accompanied only by his fettered conscience, as by his wife, is turning away from St. Peter and appears wishful to attach himself to the enthroned worldly power on the left; but Luther, in the figure of a youthful hero, steps in the way and points to the Christ emerging from the clouds in the background. All the figures here represented, with the exception of Christ, the Emperor and the Pope, are unclothed; in many of them, like the figure of Luther and the female figures, there are signs of special devotion having been bestowed on their execution.[1]

Under the title 'Gorgoneum Caput' (Gorgon Medusa) 'A foreign Romish sea-wonder, discovered in recent times in the new islands,' Tobias Stimmer, in 1577, produced a comic picture in which the Pope, instead of a tiara, wears a bell decked with tapers and other objects, has a nose in the shape of a fish, a pyx for an eye, a pot with half-open lid for a mouth, and a missal with the papal arms for his back; among the

stirred up by the fanatical Anabaptists (Gehrken, pp. 7–8). ** Whether the Nuremberg artist Peter Flötner (see Neudörffer, p. 115) made caricatures of the Catholic clergy is, according to Lange, *Flötner*, p. 7, a matter of doubt. Respecting H. Aldegrever, cf. (now) also K. v. Lützow in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iv. 211. See also the catalogue of caricatures against the papacy and the clergy in the antiquarian catalogue of F. A. Brockhaus, *Histor. Flugblätter des* 16. *bis* 19. *Jahrh.* (Leipzig, 1890), Nos. 1061, 1063, 1084, 1102, 1106, 1109.

** [1] This remarkable drawing was presented to Goethe on his birthday in 1818. It still forms part of the Goethe collection at Weimar. See *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, xxi. 12.

accessories there is, *inter alia*, a wolf in bishop's habiliments with a sheep in its mouth, and a pig with an incense-burner.[1] In another of Stimmer's sheets a devil holds the staff of the Pope, who is being struck with clenched fist by St. Peter, from whom he is trying to wrest the key of the kingdom of heaven. John Fischart, 'for the shame of the dark owl-visage,' illuminated both these sheets with rhymes.[2] In the same spirit as Cranach, another artist, in 1586, produced a large coloured picture in mockery of a jubilee proclamation of Pope Gregory XIII.: the Pope with his tiara and threefold cross rides on a sow carrying the bull of indulgences, on which is a heap of steaming human dung; in front of him kneel the Emperor, a cardinal, the Electors of Mayence and Treves, and others, while behind him stands the devil with outstretched tongue.[3] Comic medals were also disseminated. One of these shows on one side the double head of the Pope and the devil, on the other side that of a cardinal and a fool.[4] On a beautifully designed

[1] Andresen, iii. 47; Passavant, iii. 457, No. 90.

[2] Andresen, iii. 45. Cf. Kurz, *Fischart*, iii. 243–246.

[3] In the *Thesaurus Picturarum* of the Court Library at Darmstadt, Bd. 'Calumniæ et Sycophantiæ,' &c., fol. 113.

[4] R. Lepke's *Art Catalogue* (Berlin, 1888), Nos. 644, 886. In the archbishopric of Cologne reformed pottery-makers at Frechen, in 1604, ridiculed the Catholic doctrines by pictorial representations, a celebrating monk, and so forth, on their goods. Cf. Ennen, *Gesch. der Stadt Köln*, v. 383; Rosellen, *Gesch. der Pfarreien des Dekanates Brühl* (Köln, 1887), pp. 274–275. ** On a cannon at Küstrin, in 1545, the Pope was depicted as a savage man, with the inscription: 'The Pope is rightly called the wild man, who, by his false rogue's career, has brought about all this unhappiness which neither God nor man can tolerate. 1545' (*Märkische Forschungen*, xiii. 496 note). In the Luneburg Museum there is a Pokal (drinking-cup), a so-called Interim's beaker of 1548. The foot of it represents the Saviour in the act of blessing, and standing on a dragon with three heads (the Pope's, a Turk's, and an angel's). Above is the Babylonish whore and a coat of arms (Lotz, *Kunsttopogr.* i. 410).

plate, engraved by Th. de Bry, is seen the head of the Pope; if the plate is turned round the other way there appears a devil's face.[1]

The Franciscan John Nas told of 'more than thirty' artists who had made it their business 'to represent the Pope and all the clergy as the enemies of Christ, as monsters and messengers of the devil, and to make them detested by the people.' 'They also,' he wrote, 'put immoral pictures of monks, priests and nuns into the hands of young people, with scandalous rhymes under them, and disseminate them through the land by letter-carriers and hawkers.'[2]

One woodcut represents a monk undressing a nun in order to whip her with a fox's brush fastened to a stick. Above is the commentary, 'In the convent gardens they practise the sort of discipline that is seen here.' In another picture the devil is blowing with a pair of bellows into the ear of a monk who is making love to a nun. Equally objectionable is another sheet which depicts two nuns dragging along a tipsy man on a truck; a third nun drives them on with a whip; underneath are some scandalous lines.

A fourth large sheet, with the superscription 'The Dedication feast and indulgence of the monks and nuns,' represents a procession of monks and nuns led by a fox, over which a fat monk is swinging a censer; several of the monks are imbibing, others are vomiting, and so forth. A fifth exhibits three naked devils on a gallows; from the body of the middle one monks are dropped. A long Latin note explains the process.

** [1] Wessely, *Gestalten des Todes und Teufels*, p. 112.

[2] Quoted in *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers* (1617), Bl. 9a. Cf. Gretser.

Another one is intended to show why it is that the devil is always present when two monks meet each other.[1] A woodcut of Geron von Launingen, of the year 1546, represents a huge cauldron in which Catholic priests are being boiled alive over a roaring fire; a Protestant preacher is blowing the fire with bellows, while a demon places wood and coals beside it.[2] In 1569 a woodcut with explanatory rhymes was distributed, intended to depict 'the origin, manners, and character of the "*Suiten*," who call themselves "Jesuiten."' The Pope, represented by a pig lying on a mattress, is giving birth to the Jesuits; priests are praying around him; furies are acting the part of midwives; they represent swinelike monsters, and are grubbing up the graves in a churchyard, and are being instructed in a stable by a dog and a pig.

'The men of art are highly to be commended,' said a preacher to his congregation from the pulpit on the first day of Easter, 1572, 'in that they obey the wholesome instructions of the dear man of God, Martin Luther, and for the love of pious, saintly Christians do, both by painting and engraving, mercilessly counterfeit and caricature the accursed papacy, with all its popish, satanic rabble, devils and witches, who are all leagued together to persecute and condemn God's Word, and our holy religion which cries aloud for help.'[3]

[1] All these caricatures in the *Thesaurus Picturarum* at the Court Library at Darmstadt, Bd. 'Antichristiana,' fol. 249, 253, 258, 263, 266, 270. ** The pictures are the work of Henry Aldegrever, s.v. Lichtenberg, p. 54, who speaks plainly of their coarseness.

** [2] Wessely (*Gestalten des Todes und Teufels*, p. 112), who describes the picture, remarks of it: 'Did it not occur to the artist that the company and co-operation of a devil in this work is not exactly complimentary to the preacher?'

[3] Easter sermon of Melchior Zeysig (Jhena, 1572), p. 8.

Thus, for instance, the Nuremberg copper-etcher, Matthew Zündt, had represented the Christian religion as a woman screaming for help: demoniacal bird-figures with the papal tiara and with cardinals' hats on their heads are coming forth from hell; three satanic forms are rising out of the water; an old woman with goat's feet steps on to the bank holding a reeking pot on a fork.[1]

Some jesting verses on the Sacred Host, that 'poisonous bread-God,' with the superscription, 'The birth of Jan de Weiss,'[2] gave occasion for the explanation: 'This bread-god's father, the miller who ground the flour, is a thief; the nun who baked it is a whore; its godfather the priest who consecrated it, and gave it its name or made it into god, is generally an infamous scoundrel. This is the glorious lineage and stately origin of the bread-god, which nowadays almost all the world worships.'[3]

Even in the illustrated editions of the Bible controversy was represented. For instance, in the Frankfort edition of the Lutheran translation, supplied with 'beautiful pictures' by Virgil Solis, the beast of the Apocalypse, which comes up from the abyss, wears a papal tiara, and the Pope is represented as praying to the seven-headed monster; marginal notes explain that it

[1] Andresen, i. 16.

[2] Jean le Blanc.

[3] *Thesaurus Picturarum* in the Court Library at Darmstadt, Bd. 'Calumniæ,' &c. fol. 95. The Calvinists drew caricatures of the 'Lutheran bread-god,' on the doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ, and of the chief champion of this doctrine, James Andreä, as a new German pope with a cat's head and the papal insignia. In the volume 'Calumniæ,' fol. 82, 86, 88 ff., under the 'ubiquity' caricatures are the lines: 'Pandora ubiquistica concepit dolum, peperit mendacium et monstrum alit horrendum.' One caricature of the Lutherans against the Calvinists is catalogued as the work of Drugulin, p. 72, No. 790.

is 'popish abominations' which are meant here.[1] The commentaries on the Apocalypse were indeed generally the occasion for the most unbridled attacks on the papacy and the 'papists;' they were accompanied with woodcuts and 'dainty rhymes,' in order that 'the common people might have the devilish horrors of the Romish school of Satan vividly before their eyes, and that they might retain the verses indelibly in their memory.' It was thus that the Superintendent George Nigrinus, among others, in 1593, dealt with the publication of his sixty sermons on the Apocalypse. Who, says he,

> Who Antichrist knows not as yet,
> Nor the papacy's arch knavish set,
> The violence, crime, and hellish tricks
> And malice of the heretics, . . .
> Let him read what's in this book,
> And at all the pictures look,
> He'd have it clear then in his mind,
> E'en were he altogether blind.[2]

To one of the pictures are appended the lines:

> The horrible and gruesome beast
> Crawling up from the abyss
> Is the Romish Antichrist.

To another:

> The beast that standeth in the sand,
> With ten fierce horns and seven crowns,
> Is the Roman empire and town
> That rules o'er many a race and land,
> And Satan serveth at all times. . . .
> The other beast that stands quite near,
> With ram's horns, like a prophet-seer,
> And preaches of things mighty great,
> Yet as a dragon eke doth prate,

[1] Biblia, Teutsch (1561), Bl. 402[b] ff.
[2] Nigrinus, *Apokalypsis*, Bl. jjjj[b].

For the Pope and his dominion's painted
Who rightly as Antichrist is represented ;
By the devil is this kingdom founded,
On murder, lies, and poison grounded.[1]

Whole collections of caricatures and libellous pictures were also circulated. Towards 1560 there appeared at Basle a pamphlet with more than a hundred woodcuts, and bearing the lengthy title : 'Concerning the terrible destruction and overthrow of the whole papacy, prophesied and foreseen by the prophets, by Christ, and by His apostles, and prefigured and visibly seen in the Apocalypse of John, for the benefit and good of souls, and for their eternal life.'[2] Ten years later there appeared, under the name of Theophrastus Paracelsus, a quantity of 'magic' Pope-pictures, which once upon a time, the author said, had been found at Nuremberg, and which he now proposed 'to explain magically.' They were caricatures with a meaning as odious as it is confused. On one of the woodcuts the Pope is depicted with a threefold crown and a cope ; with the right hand he is strangling an eagle, 'that is the Emperor ;' with the left hand he holds a staff ending in a three-pronged fork, a symbol of 'false power' which he pretends to have received 'from the Holy Trinity ;' at his feet stand a cock and a goose as counterfeits of 'the lower clergy, who corrupt the laity and the common people ;' a monk, on to whose head a devil is descending, 'typifies all the Orders,' 'for since the accession of Barbarossa no monk has ever had anything else in his mind but lying, deceit and intrigue.'[3]

[1] *Apokalypsis*, pp. 339, 424-425 ; cf. pp. 271, 530.

[2] Weller, *Annalen*, i. 322, No. 159, and also ii. 549.

[3] *Expositio vera harum imaginum olim Nurenbergae repertarum ex fundatissimo verae Magiae Vaticinio deducta, per Doctorem Theophrastum*

In a voluminous work of John Wolf, the councillor of the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken, which appeared in 1600, there are a number of horrible, often indecent, illustrations, the object of which is to hold the Pope and the clergy up to ridicule and disgrace. Amongst those that are comparatively respectable may be mentioned: a donkey saying the mass; a wolf preaches in monk's garb before a flock of geese, watched by a buffoon, each of which holds a rosary in its beak.[1] A picture-book with explanatory text, published in 1615, and entitled *Von der schrecklichen Zerstörung des Papsttums*,[2] represented the 'Popess Agnes' as a Babylonish harlot on the seven-headed beast: she is drinking to the Emperor and nine other princes, who are kneeling at her feet, from the chalice of unchastity. In a second picture the 'Saviour' is raining down fire and brimstone on Pope, bishops and monks. In a third the papacy is being plundered: the Emperor grabs at the tiara and cross, a king is pulling the mass-vestment over the Pope's ears; priests and monks are lying on the floor, half-naked, between devil's hounds. In a fourth they are all being driven into the jaws of hell. In a fifth picture, on the other hand, the elect preachers are standing round the Lamb in glory-shine.[3]

Paracelsum (1570, without locality), Bl. 9–10. See also the pamphlet with thirty large satirical woodcuts, entitled *Wunderliche Weissagung von dem Bapstum, wie es yhm bis an das Ende der Welt gehen sol, ynn Figuren odder Gemelde begriffen, gefunden zu Nürmberg, ym Chartheuser Kloster, vnd ist seher alt. Mit gutter Auslegung . . . Wilche Hans Sachs yn Deudsche reymen gefasset* (without locality [Nuremberg], 1527).

[1] *Lectiones*, ii. 711–747, 856, 908, 909, 920–921. A monk-fish is given as type of the Jesuits, ii. 573. See F. Pieper, *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie*, pp. 703–704.

[2] Without name of author or publisher. Probably printed at Lauingen, where the most rabid polemics then raged.

[3] Bl. A 5^b, A 6^b, B 4^a, and so forth.

Even in the churches polemical pictures found a place. Lucas Cranach painted a whole series of polemical and sectarian church-pictures. In many of these the object is to glorify the great Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith only, which renders the works of the law superfluous. Pictures by Cranach with a sectarian motive are to be seen in the gallery at Gotha, in the Maurice chapel at Nuremberg, in the art collection at Prague, in the Wartburg, in the town churches of Schneeberg and Weimar.[1] On the Weimar altar-picture, completed in 1555, Luther appears in the foreground with John the Baptist, and he is illustrating from an open book the words: 'The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Therefore let us come boldly to the throne of grace, so that we may obtain mercy and grace to save us in the time of need,' and so forth. On the altar panels are painted the likenesses of Luther's patrons, the members of the palatine-electoral family. The latter appear also on the panels of Schneeberg altar, and a few Bible scenes as well, one of which (Lot with his daughters) looks passing strange in such a place.[2]

The sympathy evoked by Cranach's pictorial championship of Lutheran doctrine is evidenced by the remarkable fact that his glorification of the doctrine of justification was imitated by the Protestants even in Styria and Carinthia. The same was the case also in the outside paintings of the Gothic parish church at Ranten in Upper Styria, which were ordered by the

** [1] S. Schuchardt, *Cranach*, i. 212 ff.; ii. 63 ff., 104 ff., 107 ff., 112 ff.; iii. 199 ff. Reber-Beyersdorffer, *Klassischer Bilderschatz*, plate 488. Janitschek, p. 498, and Graus in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1900, No. 6, p. 78.

** [2] Graus, l.c. 79.

parish priest Martin Zeiller,[1] an apostate to Protestantism.[2] Still more clearly does the Lutheran tendency show itself in a panel-painting of the Teutonic Order at Friesach in Carinthia, which coincides in a striking manner with the chief representation at Ranten. The same intention is expressed with greater freedom and higher artistic skill in a sepulchral picture which came originally from the Church of the Sacred Blood at Wolfsberg in Carinthia.[3] Finally, as the most important work of art with a Lutheran tendency which survived the period of Catholic restoration in Austria, we must mention the high altar at Schladming. This work, now in the provincial museum at Graz, was produced about 1570. On it is inscribed the famous Bible text from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, iii. 28 : 'Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith *alone* without the deeds of the law.'

The interpolated word 'alone' is now missing; it was evidently removed at the time of the Catholic restoration, when no doubt many monuments of this sort may have been mutilated.[4]

** [1] See Zahn, *Styriaka*, ii., Graz, 1896.

** [2] See the description of these, till then unnoticed, paintings by Graus in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1898, No. 8.

** [3] Both works are thoroughly done justice to by Graus in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1900, No. 6. A tombstone also at Scheifling contains an allusion to the Lutheran doctrine of justification; see *Kirchenschmuck*, 1898, p. 66 ff. See in the same place, on a Catholic monument of 1555, viz. tablets which the pastor of Stallhofen in the bishopric of Seckau had placed on the walls of the entrance hall to his church. The inscriptions on them bring the frequenters of the church face to face with the Symbolum apostolorum fully reproduced with Latin text, and side by side with the Decalogue, 'as though in order to recall to memory of the congregation the fundamental supports of the Christian life, and to admonish them to unbroken observance of the same.'

** [1] This monument also was discovered by Graus, and described in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1881, p. 104 ff.

A picture in the castle church at Wittenberg represents Luther in the pulpit; with his right hand he is pointing to the Crucified One, with his left to the Pope and the cardinals, who are seen proceeding into the open abyss of hell. A 'Vineyard of the Lord' in the town church at Wittenberg, by Cranach the Younger, depicts the Pope with the tiara, in a frenzy of rage tearing down the grapes with his crozier, while the clergy, also furious, are rooting up the vine-stems, throwing stones into the fountains, and doing all sorts of mischief to destroy the garden.[1] In Dresden, over an altar with carved work of the fifteenth century, there was an oil painting with a great variety of figures, intended to ridicule the confessional, the so-called 'devil's confessional.'[2]

Glass-painting, also, was used in many places for attacks of this sort. The History museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main possesses a window-pane which comes under the head of caricature painting. In a room is the figure of a man richly clad, and with self-conscious dignity supporting himself on his sword. He is the founder, described in an inscription as 'Balthasar von der Borcht, burgher of Frankfort, 1610.' On the roof Christ is seen floating out of the clouds, and pointing to a group in the room. Luther has forcibly seized

[1] Lübke, *Bunte Blätter*, pp. 387, 397. Lübke bestows full approval on pictures of this sort. 'Our ancestors,' he says, 'knew very well that there was no compact to be made with Rome, that with regard to the Vatican there was no alternative but unconditional subjection or war to the death. A third course there was not and is not.'

[2] See v. Eye, *Führer durch das Museum zu Dresden*, p. 69. ** On a slanderous caricature on tapestry against the Pope and the Emperor in the church at St. Wenzel in Naumburg, executed by commission of the preacher Nicholas Medler, *cf. Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete histor-antiquarischer Forschungen*, xiii. 528.

the Pope, who is recognisable by the triple crown, and from whom his episcopal staff has fallen, and holds him over a grinding-stone, which another preacher, in whom we recognise Melanchthon, is turning. Two inscriptions explain more fully the meaning of the picture. The upper one reads as follows :

My Holy Word is as a judge,
To shame is put the Antichrist.

The second inscription is :

I shall now take right good care
They 'scape me not with skin and hair.
Ah, Luther, pious servant of God,
Lead on, the way of grace by thee is trod.[1]

Another window-pane of 1556 is to be seen in Switzerland. Two devils in striped pantaloons, and aprons tied round them, are throwing a pope and other members of the higher clergy into a mill-hopper ; below, crawling out of the meal box, are snakes, dragons, and all sorts of vermin. Two other devils are looking on delighted at the comedy, whilst by the side of them is a vat filled with prelates awaiting the same treatment. Above is the maxim : 'As is the corn so will be the flour.' [2]

** [1] The pane is described by Dr. Fries, though not yet quite fully, in *Die Glasgemälde des städtischen Museums zu Frankfurt*, in the *Frankfurt Zeitung* of August 3, 1896. Concerning the origin of the pane the director of the museum, Dr. Cornill, could unfortunately give us no information.

[2] Lübke, *Kunsthist. Studien*, pp. 431–432. ** Church bells were likewise pressed into the service of polemics against the old Church. Cf. Zingeler, in the *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1895, No. 308, who remarks : 'Bells also are made to take part in polemics.' Otte quotes several inscriptions which are strongly opposed to Catholic opinions. For instance :

Mir gilt nicht Weih' noch Tauf,
Ein antichristlich Zeichen.

The Catholics, in the distress of their hearts, thought it their duty 'to take up the cudgels for necessary defence against the countless insults and libellous caricatures by which art was misused against them,' as John Nas puts it, and 'on their side too there was no stint in similar works of art.'[1] But their productions are few in number in comparison with those of the Protestants.[2]

(I care not for consecration or baptism, anti-Christian symbols), and so forth. Or:

To Romish abuses at first bound,
Now joyfully I've joined my sound
In praise of the Gospel newly found, &c., &c.

Or, again:

I am not baptised, no calamity can I dispel—
No storms, no evil spirits; I only call you to God.

On bells in Catholic churches I found no such inscriptions; only twice the descriptive epithet, 'Catholic.'

[1] The words of Nas quoted in *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers* (1617), Bl. 9[b].

[2] We here make mention of those productions which have come to our knowledge. Possibly someone may draw our attention to additional examples. I am able to name four other productions of the same kind: (1) In the collection of antiquities at Karlsruhe I saw in 1880, under the signature C. 321, a caricature of Luther, the origin of which is unknown. Luther appears in a nunnery. While Moses in the upper part of the picture is striking water from the rock, Luther strikes out of the cupboard roasted geese, hams, &c., &c., and all this for the benefit of a nun (Catherine of Bora), who is holding out eggs to the other fasting nuns. Under Luther is the inscription: 'Luther lumen.' (2) Scheible, *Das Schaltjahr* i. (Stuttgart, 1846), publishes (p. 128) a hand-drawing which is a virulent caricature against Luther. On the left is depicted the mouth of the prince of hell, to whom Luther, riding on a sow, is hastening. Numbers of comrades are following him, all riding on pigs. 'Come, brand of hell,' says one of the satirical inscriptions, 'thou art already mine; this shall be the reward of thy faith. Ride, Luther, ride, thou hast already the right people.' (3) Behind the high altar of the famous abbey-church at Ottobeuren, in Suabia, the tabernacle from the church built some years before by the abbot Kindelmann, and consecrated in 1558, has been let into the wall. If the lock is unfastened the richly decorated interior appears as good as new. The inside of the tabernacle door presents an interesting picture of Catholic polemics of the Reformation period. In the upper space sits Christ the Lord at a table

As a retort against an 'Indulgence letter and Calendar' of Doctor John Kopp, in which the Catholic cantons of Switzerland and the Bishop of Constance 'had been figuratively held up as liable to loss of life and limb, of honour and goods, on account of idolatry,' Thomas Murner, in 1527, published a 'Lutheran-evangelical calendar of church-robbers and heretics.' In a woodcut belonging to this calendar Moses and Christ are seen pointing out to a group of persons who are carrying away stolen Church property the words 'Thou shalt not steal;' on a gallows 'hangs Zwingli in person and with his name,' because, according to Murner's explanation, 'he was a forty-times perjured, dishonourable, thievish scoundrel, an apostate Christian, and a misleader of poor Christian folk.'[1] A large woodcut of the year 1521 represents

with the consecrated Host in His hands, while on a motto-ribbon are the words: 'This is my body.' On one side of the table stands Luther in a black doctor's gown, and in his hand an open book, on which is written: 'This will become my body.' The other side is occupied by Calvin, who also holds an open book, on which is written: 'This signifies my body.' At the bottom of all is the short question: 'Who is right?' Precisely analogous is the pictorial representation on the other space. In the middle a priest is administering extreme unction to a sick man. Here, again, the two reformers both appear, but Christ's place is occupied by the Apostle St. James. From the well-known words of the latter (chap. v. 14, 15, of his Epistle), and from the acknowledgments in favour of unction for the sick made by Luther and Calvin in their writings, there is then deduced, as it were, in form of a question, an argument for the truth of the Catholic opinion on this point. *Sfr. Scheebens Period. Blätter zur wissenschaftlichen Besprechung der grossen religiösen Fragen der Gegenwart*, vol. vi. (Ratisbon, 1877), p. 192. (4) The Frankfort bookseller A. Th. Völcker has in his possession (see *Lager-Katalog* 174, No. 2116) a highly interesting broadside, which is directed in the most pungent manner against the renegade monks and nuns. It is a copper engraving with the inscription, '*Typus piscationis novae novorum apostolorum*,' and Latin verses. Date of origin about 1550; height, twenty-six centimetres; breadth, thirty-six centimetres.

[1] The calendar was printed by Scheible, *Kloster*, x. 201–215.

a monk with a bagpipe for a head; the devil as bagpiper is blowing into his ear, whilst with his fingers he plays on the nose which is lengthened out into a clarionette: the head of this monk is supposed to bear a great resemblance to Luther.[1] In a picture of the Stations of the Cross in front of the St. Victor Church at Xanten, executed in 1531, and representing the mocking of Christ, two of the figures are said to be Luther and Calvin.[2]

John Nas wanted to append to his *Vierten Centuria* a representation of Luther's marriage, but the woodcut was abstracted from him at Augsburg by his opponents.[3]

To another of his pamphlets he added a small-sized woodcut depicting Luther with two little horns on his head, in bed with his half-naked Katie, disputing with the devil about the Mass.[4] A caricature called 'Abbild von dem gebrandmarkten Sodomit Johann Calvin' is in three divisions. On the left Calvin is being branded in Noyon; in the middle stands Servetus at a burning stake; on the right Beza with his mistress Candide and his obscene boy, Aubert. Another picture of the same date (1569) shows Luther emigrating:

[1] Lindau, *Cranach*, p. 175.

[2] This may be incorrect, however, 'at any rate, as regards Calvin, who at the time of the production of the picture had not yet begun to play any prominent part' (Beissel, p. 51). I never heard of any such explanation in my youth at Xanten. ** In the Hildesheim Cathedral there is a picture of Christ carrying the Cross, which came originally from the Benedictine monastery of St. Michael. The head of one of the hangmen is said to be meant for Luther. Meanwhile, according to trustworthy information from Pastor Graën, there is no likeness to be seen, and it may be assumed to be a mistake.

[3] Schöpf, p. 26.

[4] In the *Examen Chartaceae Luther. Conc.* (Ingolst. 1581), p. 98; cf. Graesse, *Trésor*, iv. 648.

he is carrying his followers on his back in a night-stool; his outrageously large stomach and the busts of three friends rest on a wheelbarrow, pulled by himself by means of a shoulder-strap, and he holds a wine-glass in his hand; his wife, lean-figured, with her child and dog, is following him. In another of 1587, a naked man lying on a table is being tortured, cut up, and eaten by a group of theologians, and below is the inscription: 'See how this wretched Lutherdom is martyred by its own champions, and at last even devoured by them.'[1] A much earlier plate represents the Catholic Church as a large ship navigated by Christ: at the bow sits St. Peter, adorned with the tiara and holding the keys of heaven; on the deck are grouped the representatives of the Church; angels are steering, and the ship rides with full sails towards the kingdom of heaven, at whose entrance Mary and the saints are awaiting their arrival. Three small ships on the other hand are going straight into the open jaws of hell: the first is the Lutheran Church with devils for sailors; Luther is steering it with one hand, while in the other hand he holds a trumpet in which he is blowing lustily. The second is the Zwinglian Church, also manned by devils, while Zwingli stands disconsolate at the helm. The third represents the Anabaptists, one of whom is vomiting; wrecked craft, with the inscriptions, Arians, Mahomet, Wickliffe, Huss, are drifting on the sea towards hell.[2] The Westphalian copper-engraver, Anthony Eisenhut, represented heresy as a three-headed

[1] Drugulin, p. 41, Nos. 341 and 342, and p. 68, No. 741. Cf. p. 118, No. 1335: '*Luther und Ketherle auf der Wanderschaft.*'

[2] Mentioned by the Frankfort bookseller, A. Th. Völcker, in his *Antiquar. Lager-Catalog* 127, No. 137.

goddess, half woman, half beast, riding away on a monster.[1] In a 'genealogical tree of heresy' of the year 1569, heresy is depicted as growing out of Satan who is lying on the ground.[2] In another 'genealogical tree of heretics' Luther, with seven heads, is in the middle of the tree, holding out the chalice to his wife.[3] As an answer to the 'Origin of the Jesuits' ('Ankunft der Suiten'[4]) there appeared a caricature in three sections: above, a seven-headed dragon is laying hold of the Church; in the middle, a herd of swine, surrounded by abortive, misshapen children, are forcing their way into a church; below, on the left hand, Christ stands as the Good Shepherd; on the right hand the Babylonish whore near the pit of hell.[5]

Eustace Günzberger executed for the monastery of Wiblingen, in championship of the new faith, some painted windows, of which the Council of Ulm in the years 1564 and 1566 ordered the removal.[6] A glass painting from the cloisters in the monastery of Rathhausen near Lucerne, crowded with figures, represents the Last Judgment. In the middle of the wide-open jaws of hell the painter shows us, amidst other condemned souls, Luther and Zwingli disputing over an open Bible, all unconscious of a crowned devil who is seizing the one by the neck, the other by the head.[7]

Whilst art, ignoring completely its true vocation,

[1] Drugulin, p. 40, No. 326. [2] *Ibid.* p. 39, No. 325.

[3] '*Soror mea sponsa*,' *Ibid.* p. 22, No. 126.

[4] See above, p. 62.

[5] Drugulin, p. 69, No. 761. This caricature was described as 'Ecclesia militans,' and accompanied by 'a most offensively coarse, rhymed explanation.'

[6] Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, 1830, pp. 27–28.

[7] See the article of J. R. Rahn in the *Geschichtsfreund* (Einsiedel, 1882), xxxvii. 264. Lübke, *Kunsthistor. Studien*. p. 432.

gave itself up thus to the service of religious schism, it fell away from all idealism in the treatment of religious subjects and sank gradually to the level of naked, human reality, settling down at last into sheer naturalism, devoid alike of the nobility of true beauty and the consecration of lofty sentiment. In the treatment of secular subjects—especially incidents and objects of every-day life—art became out-and-out realistic, often even sordid. Finally, towards the end of the sixteenth century, Germany experienced a complete decay of all artistic creativeness. German art, in the real sense of the word, virtually died out. Artistic handicraft, ministering to luxury and fashion, and maintaining a diversified existence by all sorts of over-refinements, was all that remained.

The religious revolution, however, altering as it did the early attitude of art to religious and public life, closing up many of its channels of activity, and debasing its character by mixing it up with religious schism and dissension, was not the sole cause of its decadence and decay; these were largely due also to the introduction of a new and foreign school of art, which never became an integral part of the national life, and which displaced the old home-grown German art methods.

This foreign intruder, on its first advent in Germany, was described as the Antique-Italian manner; later on the not very appropriate name of 'Renaissance' came into vogue.

The Renaissance, which, starting from Italy, penetrated into all the countries of Europe, found in Germany no favourable conditions, no points of contact with the past, and no congenial soil: it dwelt at first as an

alien in the land. The foreign style was wholly antagonistic to the thought and feeling, the artistic sense and culture, of the nation, and it was accorded, therefore, a merely external reception; outward characteristics were copied, but its essence and nature were little, if at all, understood, and it was chiefly its least meritorious attributes which were chosen for reproduction. This is the explanation of the fact that German art of the sixteenth century exhibits the same characteristics as does the antique school at the time of its decadence; whereas the old indigenous German art of the later Middle Ages was in many respects in unconscious affinity with the nobler antique style—*i.e.* with the classic art of Greece at its most flourishing period.

CHAPTER IV

INFLUENCE OF THE NEWLY INTRODUCED 'ANTIQUE-ITALIAN' ART—ITS CHARACTER AND ITS PRODUCTIONS

SECTION I.—INNER RELATIONSHIP OF THE OLD INDIGENOUS ART TO THE GENUINE ANTIQUE—THE INFLUENCE OF THE DEGENERATE ANTIQUE—THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE AND GERMAN ART

With the Greeks, as with all other nations, art had its origin and basis in religion. In its golden epoch, no less than in the Middle Ages, it ministered essentially to religious worship. At the same time it maintained an equally firm and close connection with the commonwealth, by which the worthy cultivation of art was regarded as an affair of honour. In both these periods the glory of art was the outcome of the greatness of national sentiment. As all the creations of art were intended for the nation as a whole and were dedicated to the nation, the people regarded them as their own property, as monuments of their own glory, greatness and might. And these masterpieces of art, embodiments as they were of vigorous thought and conception, replete both with power and restraint, were a fruitful means of culture and enlightenment, not only as regards artistic sense and taste, but for the whole intellectual life of the people, who looked on at their growth and

development, and who had them continually in sight when completed.

In both the periods to which we have alluded architecture was the foundation of all other arts; it was the measure of the intellectual force and the religious and moral development of the nation, and the building of sacred temples constituted its primary function. Although the Greek temples [1] could not rival the Christian churches and cathedrals in their aspect of joyous heavenward soaring, though they lacked the super-earthly glory with which in Christian 'God's houses' the hard stone substance was transmuted and transfigured, the temples of pagan deities were nevertheless noble witnesses of the reverence for everything great and holy which inspired the builders.

'Art,' so it used to be said, 'was a gift of the gods, and must always be mindful of its divine origin: in none of its branches must it pander to unworthy aims, but it must always edify and ennoble, and raise men above the narrow limits of everyday circumstances; and as a law of Arcadia relating to music expressed it, 'it must be an antidote against the injurious influences of a toilsome existence.'

This feeling dominated both sculptors and painters at the period when Greek art was at its zenith, and it was this that enabled them to produce works of such

[1] At all periods the highest achievements of art have always been associated with the religious needs and conditions of life. No art-work of the highest order has ever been accomplished except when the subject treated has also been of the highest order—viz. religious faith, and the artist has been concerned to make the outward form a worthy embodiment of some sacred motive (Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 231). 'It is with temple building that architecture begins' (Schnaase, *Gesch. der bildenden Künste*, i. 33).

grandeur, free from all ensnaring attractiveness and voluptuous charm, breathing out only strength and purity, and, like the masterpieces of the Middle Ages, containing the secret of their greatness in their sublime calm and simplicity. The Greek statues, like those of the Christian epoch, were never nude. Not only Jupiter and Hera, Apollo and the Muses, and other gods and goddesses, but even Venus, the goddess of love, always had some drapery about them. It was not until the period of decay that naked statues of Venus became the fashion.

In other essential points also the golden epoch of Greek art resembled that of the Middle Ages. In both periods all the separate arts came into existence simultaneously as parts of an organic whole, bound together by a system of mutual interchange and service. Sculpture and painting began their careers in subordination to architecture, and it was from this circumstance, which acted by no means as a disturbing or cramping restraint, that the harmonious unison of the arts arose. Greek builders, sculptors and painters worked together in their *ateliers*, as did the mediæval artists, on one same principle and in one style, and chose for the expression of their thoughts the purest and simplest forms, such as would fit in with the fundamental principles of architecture. The minor arts and handicrafts were also closely bound up with monumental art, and through this connection they acquired a higher character and became worthy of the noblest service.[1]

[1] Fuller details concerning the above remarks are given by Curtius, *Griech. Geschichte* (Berlin, 1861), ii. 277 ff. ; Vischer, iii. 260 ff. ; Hegel, ii. 409 ; Springer, *Kunsthistor. Briefe*, p. 237 ; Lasaulx, *Philosophie der schönen Künste*, pp. 29 ff., 65 ff. See also Reichensperger, *Parlamentarisches über Kunst*, p. 52 ; Jungmann, p. 603.

With the Greeks the inward unity of all the different arts was accompanied by an outward unity, which was especially manifest in the technique of polychrome, or the application of colour to buildings and works of sculpture. The works of a Phidias stand in this respect on a level with the painted carving and sculpture of Gothic cathedrals. Even marble temples glowed with resplendent colouring like the mediæval cathedrals. It was nothing but 'barbarism,' boasting itself as a high sense of art, which condemned 'monuments to be colourless.' [1]

Another point of similarity between the two ages — the golden epoch of Greek art and the Middle Ages — lies in the fact that in both the training of the artists followed the same lines. The rules and customs of the mediæval art schools, such as hereditary succession of father and son, local master-workshops, looking out for distinguished foreign artists, are found to have prevailed in Greece also.[2]

As regards the works it achieved, German art of the later Middle Ages has nothing to fear from comparison with the classic period of Greek art. The two are on very much the same plane of excellence, and where German art may fail in perfection of form, the defect is counterbalanced by profundity of thought, sincerity and warmth of feeling. As with the Greeks, so too with

[1] See Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 265–327; Vischer, iii. 248; Semper, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 232 ff., 250–251. With regard to polychrome the famous antique art of Greece followed exactly the same principles as did Catholic mediæval art in the days of the Gothic style (Feuerbach, *Der vaticanische Apollo*, p. 187). 'All periods of high artistic culture are in agreement with the principle which is here contested. How wrong and unjust it is to cast the reproach of barbarism on such times!' (Semper, p. 236.)

[2] See Vischer, iii. 104–105; Portig, i. 27.

the mediæval Germans, each separate building was a public monument of art; and this is true not only as regards the Gothic: the Romantic style at its best is on a par with the best works of Greece both in grandeur and vigour of conception, and in simplicity and clearness of execution, and strict adhesion to law. In Greece, as in Germany, gables and walls were adorned with artistic statues, groups and paintings. Even objects of everyday use showed artistic imagination; their beauty of form and design transmuted the material of which they were made, and invested them with the stamp of a higher signification. Skill and talent of every description were trained up to masterly perfection.[1] The parallel between the two epochs extends even to their decorative work, which was never allowed to be mere meaningless ornamentation, but was always symbolic, and always kept in the closest connection and conformity with the laws of the particular work of art which it was intended to embellish.[2]

[1] See Hotho, *Die Malerschule van Eycks*, p. 13; Rahn, pp. 550, 557–558. 'All great epochs of art have this in common—that their highest blossoming is the outgrowth of the healthy soil of national life, so that the ideal creations of great masters at any given epoch represent the latest and highest levels of that sense of the beautiful which is seen struggling to life in all outbursts of the national mind, and which imparts a stamp of nobility to the simplest productions of handiwork. At such times all the common articles and utensils of daily life are the outcome of individual artistic endowment, and it is from these beginnings of sterling handwork, hitting by æsthetic instinct on the true and the beautiful, that are evolved the high powers of the great masters who are able to embody the people's ideals in shapes of undying beauty. Conversely, too, when art has reached its climax of perfection, a flood of artistic ideas pours down from the upper levels of life into the region of everyday wants, not unfrequently raising the productions of handwork to the rank of true art achievement, and the lower industries to the level of artistic handwork' (Lübke, *Plastik*, i. 341).

[2] The same may be said in this respect of the works of the Middle Ages as Overbeck (*Gesch. der griech. Plastik*, ii. 307) says of Greek art:

The same inner relationship which, how different soever the character of the Christian and the antique ideals,[1] prevailed in all essential respects between Greek and mediæval art during their golden epochs, becomes apparent on comparison of the decadent Greek art with that school of art which in Germany succeeded mediæval art, and was regarded as a re-birth from the antique.

The decay of ancient art keeps pace on the whole with the decay and ruin of the Greek nation. It was at the moment when, after the Peloponnesian war, the State was torn in pieces by factions, when all higher strivings and aspirations had become stifled, when law and justice tottered and trembled, and scepticism, scorn and infidelity were destroying the old religious ideas—it was then that art too lost all high inspiration, all faculty for pure and sublime conception, all power of embodying lofty religious ideas in concrete form. Painting, it is true, still occupied itself with religious subjects, but only for purposes of reproach and criticism, and the comic element, tending to buffoonery, became largely predominant: at any rate sacred things were not treated with sacred awe and reverence.

Now too, in contradistinction to the period of true

'However rich and diversified architectural ornamentation in Greece may appear, it was nevertheless always subservient to architecture, conformed to the fundamental forms evolved by architecture, derived the principles of its designs from the nature and intention of the particular architectural parts it was intended to adorn, and kept in view the main scheme of the structure to which the decoration was to add higher artistic expression.'

[1] See Kugler, *Mus um*, i. 293–294, and ii. 17–19; Portig, i. 37–38, 290–292; G. H. Schubert, *Die Alter der Kunst*, pp. 18, 35; Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften*, pp. 129–130; Hettinger, *Die Kunst im Christenthum*, p. 41.

art, when things domestic and accidental had been considered unworthy material for art, the small details of life—often moreover of a thoroughly despicable life—pressed into the foreground. There arose at this juncture a school of cabinet or genre painting of a threefold nature : the painting of still life, the painting of nastiness, and the painting of indecency.

Subjects were chosen from the lowest strata of society, and in their treatment regard was no longer had to artistic truth, but only to realism. Pauson did not even rise to the level of the beauty of ordinary nature, his depraved taste delighted most in depicting the deformities and the ugliness of human life. Peiraeikos, the most renowned of the ' still-life painters,' chose for his subjects barbers' rooms, dirty workshops, donkeys and vegetables. The most abundant material for art, however, was supplied by the habits and tastes of an age of extravagance and luxury, an age which delighted inordinately in the sensual attraction of outward show, above all in the exhibition of nude figures and immoral scenes.[1]

Greek sculpture, like Greek painting, came to be a mirror of the general condition of things, in which

[1] See Reber, *Kunstgesch. des Alterthums* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 370–371 ; Springer, *Kunsthistor. Briefe*, p. 298 ff. ' The decadence, which in Greece penetrated after Alexander, has reached Rome, and is pressing ever onwards. Coarseness, sensuality, pandering to luxury, increased pornography, quick, slovenly work are all symptoms of approaching decay ' (Vischer, iii. 698). In Greece, says Lessing, ' the civil authorities did not think it beneath their dignity to constrain artists to keep within their own sphere.' ' We laugh when we hear that among the ancients even the arts were subjected to municipal laws. But we are not always in the right when we laugh.' ' The plastic arts especially, besides the inevitable effect which they have on the character of the nation, are capable of influences which require the close surveillance of the law ' (in the *Laokoon*, Sämtl. Schriften, ed. Lachmann, vi. 368–370).

it was plainly shown how the old austerity of life and morals had disappeared, how family ties had become loosened, how the might of passion ruled. Sculpture lost more and more the noble, simple sublimity of ancient art, all the strength and virtue of self-sustained character; it gave itself up to the representation of emotional feeling and the sentiments of passion, cared only for external effects and sought to shine by mere excellence of technical skill.[1] After Skopas and Praxiteles had set the fashion of representing the Aphrodite entirely nude, the sculptors soon fell into unbounded licentiousness: the statues of Venus and other goddesses, which Greek, and later on, Roman, art produced in greater and greater numbers, became nothing more or less than a deification of the flesh. Side by side with these performances, and in closer correspondence to the character of the new art, which was more private than public, came collections of genre pictures, pictures of animals, and above all portraits of distinguished people and princes. The individualism which had been condemned and despised by the great artists of the past now obtained dominion; outward embodiment of some

[1] 'Art, when it no longer strives after lofty and ideal loveliness, but seeks only to attract and excite the senses, at the same time overstepping the limits of truth to nature, rapidly degenerates into meretriciousness and mere striving after effect, panders to pomp and luxury, and falls into naturalism and mannerism. These signs of degeneracy, which are first noticeable in works of the later Greek schools, such as the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere as slight tendencies to sensationalism, when transplanted into the Roman world become glaringly obvious. Effect alone becomes the artist's object, spiritual grace turns to voluptuous charm, unity of composition is sacrificed to elaborateness of detail, the motive idea is lost under overloading externals, inward greatness is replaced by colossal outwardness. All these characteristics result from an excess of subjectivity over objectivity in the artist, and may be summed up under the head of mannerism.'—Vischer, iii. 134, 137 8.

inward and spiritual idea no longer constituted the highest ideal of art, the outward delineation or modelling of form was all that mattered: skilful technique and manner had taken the place of inward substance.

Growing more and more estranged from the people, art at length became a hot-house plant of wealthy so-called lovers of art, especially of the princes, who constituted themselves its patrons, but only encouraged it in so far as it ministered to their love of display, and adapted itself to all their moods and fancies, and carried out their orders, however tasteless these might be. Under such circumstances there could no longer be any question of great and inspiring thoughts, of fresh creative ardour—in short, of all those indispensable conditions which fed the life of the old untrammelled national art. The numerous art collections made by great people were clear tokens of the decay of art; they were so to say 'the dungeons of art.' [1]

The arts may be said to have been the authors of their own decay when they dissolved their long-standing partnership and ceased to co-operate with one another in noble emulation. The separation of painting and sculpture from architecture induced utter lawlessness in all three. Each of these arts wanted to be independent in order to develop its own skill and genius in a more brilliant manner; but the further they strayed from

[1] Pliny speaks of the moribund art of his times. Pictures and works of sculpture are sent off 'in banishment' to wealthy country houses; for the distinguished painter Amulius, Nero's Golden House had become 'the dungeon of his art.' 'All the more worthy of honour,' he says, 'seem to us the achievements of the past,' when the painters were still the common property of the whole nation, and the walls of houses were not beautified merely for the benefit of their owners (*Hist. natur.* xxxv. cap. 2, 11, 37).

each other, the more uncompromisingly they pursued each its different way, the more flagrant became their loss of artistic power as such; the work produced without combined effort was devoid of deeper meaning and harmonious effect.

All the above characteristics which art developed after it had severed itself from old traditions and true nationality, after it had lost all inward inspiration and substance, and had given itself up to the production of outward effect only, are, broadly speaking, still more noticeable in the German art of the sixteenth century, which, while posing as 'antique,' was in reality only an imitation of 'the new Italian manner' which had migrated from Italy to Germany.[1]

[1] Concerning the development of the plastic arts before and after the 'Renaissance' nobody has written better than Goethe in his life of Winckelmann (1805), p. 204 ff. Paulsen, *Gesch. des gelehrten Unterrichts* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 296, has aptly commented thereon. In the later editions of Goethe's works these remarks are not included. 'We grant,' he wrote in 1805, 'that the Greeks enjoyed many advantages which the moderns do not possess; but it was less the beauty of their mythological poems, their games, and so forth, than the religious zeal, and added to this the patriotic, or, if a lesser name is preferred, the general sense of national honour and the ambition of each different district to outshine the others in remarkable possessions, that they have to thank for the glory of their art; and we, too, so it seems, are indebted to the Catholic religious zeal of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries for the birth and growth of the plastic arts. So long as sacred foundations of all sorts afforded the arts a wide scope, supplied them with worthy, and, we may add, frequent opportunities for exercise, so long did they continue to progress rapidly and joyously. Gloomy, monastic ideas seem to have been very slight hindrances to the artist, for he was able to work them up, to enliven and beautify them. If only we consider without prejudice what a high degree of beauty the plastic arts had reached at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, it is by no means difficult to imagine that they might have advanced still further in this direction; nay more, that, without losing their individual character, they might have attained to the level of the antique; but the uplifting energy had grown weak, and their bounds were set. Powerful patrons came, indeed, to the fore, but they could not replace

For the Italian artists there was a kind of magic enchantment in the 're-birth of the antique.' The modes of thought and the traditions of Roman antiquity had never quite disappeared in Italy during the Middle Ages; the numerous monuments, either still extant or newly dug up in the fifteenth century, were, moreover, a lively reminder of the days of Roman world-dominion. There was an eager desire to bring back to life this ancient indigenous art, as well as the ancient literature for which the humanists had engendered unbounded enthusiasm.

But as in the field of literature, so too in that of art, ominous and dubious tokens soon became manifest.[1] Preoccupation with ancient art became for many people a grave danger. There was over-much dallying with the gross sensuality and licentiousness of the degenerate antique, and also a tendency to disregard the boundaries imposed both on art in general and on each separate art in particular. The Titan, Michael Angelo, held himself 'bound by no architectonic rules whether ancient or modern.' He not only 'imitated the antique,

the lost holy inspiration. Art became a thing of fashion; it continued to give pleasure, no doubt, but it was no longer a necessity of life. Raphael painted halls and saloons. Michael Angelo's principal works of sculpture are monuments to the dead. We will not go so far as to say that these were unworthy occupations for such great masters, but it is the beginning of the decline of art. In the stillness and freedom of altars art no longer found adequate employment, and it was compelled to enter the service of the world, and, to a great extent, to flatter the humours of the world. Its area of work became more extensive, but also more commonplace. With less worthy subjects for treatment came the striving after greater dexterity; the necessity for rapid work induced tricks of manner, and tricks of manner led to soullessness, to mere industrial labour. These are the steps by which the later art came down from its heights, and the way of descent of ancient art was very little different.'

** [1] See Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, iii. (3rd and 4th edition) 147 ff.

but surpassed it, endeavouring by new methods to produce the strongest possible effects.' In the various branches of art he overstepped the limits of each, and applied the laws of the different branches indiscriminately.[1]

From out this confusion there came presently into existence the Baroque style, which, in place of strict law-abiding order, and the authority of universally recognised traditions, allowed boundless liberty and personal caprice to each artist, with the inevitable result of the total collapse of all art. Michael Angelo, whose death occurred in 1563, survived this final decay of art, which, as regards painting, had already set in under the first pupils of Raphael, who died in 1520. In his sacred creations the great painter of Urbino embodied the loftiest religious ideas with most con-

[1] 'Michael Angelo's genius is still less easy of comprehension,' wrote Sulpice Boisserée, on June 26, 1837, from Rome to his brother, 'when one considers him in relation to his predecessors and his contemporaries here in Italy. For these sculptors were as highly distinguished and as thoroughly impregnated with true artistic sense as were Raphael's predecessors in painting, so much so that they might well have been followed by a Christian Phidias. Instead, however, there comes this Titanic fellow, who oversteps the boundaries of art in each of its branches, throws sculptors, painters, and architects into hopeless perplexity, and reduces art itself to boundless confusion.' Carstens said of him: 'Michael Angelo is the father of that bad taste in architecture which under his successors has grown worse and worse down to our own days. In the works of Gothic architecture we find genius everywhere; in the works of later architects nothing but rule and rote' (Springer, *Bilder*, ii. 313). ** Concerning the Buonarrottic style. Reumont says (*Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, iii. 2, 723): 'In bondage to imitation of ancient art, too often also to merely external imitation with no regard to the soul within, and occupied exclusively in attaining to independence, modern art, incapable of producing new models, settled down into that artificial style in which the absence of soul was all the more evident the more the outward form was assertive. The further it advances the more apparent becomes its decadent nature.'

summate skill, and by the originality of his genius, the grandeur of his designs, and the splendour of his colouring he reached an extraordinary eminence; but, on the other hand, amongst his secular paintings (those, for instance, in the Farnesina and in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibbiena) there are things to which no Christian critic can give unqualified praise. His disciples, who only followed him in externals, fell into exaggeration, and into even worse faults.[1] Before long painting, like sculpture, began to affect bombastic embellishment, and a number of German and Dutch painters, who sought their models on the other side of the Alps, considered this particular characteristic as specially worthy of imitation.

The 'cult of the nude,' which had gained such prominence in the degenerate antique, met with lively admiration, even amongst the most notable Italian masters. Michael Angelo, in one of his most famous works, 'The Last Judgment,' went to extremes in this direction.[2]

Far worse was the manner in which Correggio celebrated the triumph of sensual nude beauty. The great Titian also, who treated so many sacred subjects with reverence and solemnity, was never-

[1] Of Raphael's disciples Rio says (*De l'art chrétien*, iv. 561): 'Telle fut leur décadence, au point de vue des inspirations, que l'appréciation de leurs œuvres n'appartient plus à l'histoire de l'art chrétien.' The religious ideals of Christendom were, in a certain sense, represented in a pagan manner; see Springer, *Bilder*, ii. 182.

** [2] Concerning the nude figures in the 'Last Judgment' of Michael Angelo, P. Keppler, in the *Hist.-pol. Bl.* 91, p. 755, justly points out that Michael Angelo is still widely different from those artists who drag art down to prostitution, and, with lascivious intent, paint the flesh for the sake of the flesh. Moreover, in the 'Last Judgment' of H. Memling, and in the painting of the same subject by Meister Stephan of Cologne, there are a number of nude figures.

theless guilty in several other of his pictures of the same shameless glorification of the flesh; and his intimate friend, Pietro Aretino, one of the most profligate of men, wrote in praise of these pictures.[1]

Even in the first days of the Renaissance there were not wanting specimens of the most corrupt art. Some of the Italian artists had at this period fallen into that 'quite exceptional vulgarity' which Pliny at the time of the degenerate Roman antique had most severely reprehended in the painter Arellius. 'Arellius,' Pliny writes, 'had become famous in Rome as a painter shortly before the time of Augustus, but he dishonoured his art by vulgarity of quite a special kind. He was in a constant state of consuming passion for some damsel or other, and he painted his goddesses after the models of his paramours, so that one could count the number of the latter from his pictures.'[2] The same was the case with the highly gifted painter Fra Filippo Lippi in Florence, who was patronised to so great an extent by Cosimo de' Medici and his sons. When in 1458 he seduced the novice, Lucrezia Buti, they laughed at court over this misdemeanour of the artist, and allowed him to set up in a consecrated place, as a monument to his shame, a picture in which Lucrezia appeared three times as the daughter of Herodias. In another picture he actually made her figure as the Holy Virgin Mary.[3]

[1] See Springer, *Bilder*, i. 349. 'We know how to distinguish the idealising method of the artist from the cynicism of the writer. The basic idea, however, is, after all said and done, the same.' See Molmenti, cap. v. (*'Die Kunst ein Spiegelbild der Sitten'*) 241 ff.

[2] *Hist. natur.* xxxv. 37.

[3] See Rio, *De l'art chrétien*, i. 361–364; v. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*,

In this desecration of sacred art others were found to imitate him, especially under Cosmo's son, Lorenzo de' Medici, surnamed the Magnificent, who was no less ready than his father to patronise the new-fashioned naturalistic-sensual tendency in art. The Christian congregations who looked for piety and edification in their churches, were frequently confronted by women of ill-fame under the guise of the Holy Virgin, or St. Mary Magdalen, or St. John the Evangelist. The holy women, too, were often represented dressed as notorious harlots. 'You painters,' exclaimed Savonarola, 'you make the Holy Virgin appear dressed like a public whore!'[1] Tintoretto in one of his pictures introduces the Saviour in the midst of half-naked women.[2] 'Who,' asked Cardinal Contarini in 1536, 'who would not praise that canon which, under pain of excommunication, forbids the painting of anything which might excite impure desires? In our days, however, not to speak of private houses and public buildings, we actually go so far as to adorn the temples of God, the monuments of saints, yea, even the very altars, with pictures and statues of this description, and this is certainly a monstrous scandal.'[3]

Very salutary edicts against abuses of this sort were

ii. (2nd edition) 129, 134 ff.; Jungmann, p. 412; cf. Kraus, *Gesch. d. christl. Kunst*, ii. 2, Part I., p. 186. This occurred a few years after the death of Fra Angelico da Fiesole, that almost solitary instance of God-inspired sincerity and angelic purity of soul, who realised the most perfect union of Christian art and Christian holiness. In many of his compositions the influence of the antique is manifest, but the Christian idea is always present and intact, and expressed with the utmost completeness. See Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, i. (2nd edition) 435–436.

[1] Rio, ii. 60–61, 423–424. Under Savonarola's direction a quantity of indecent pictures were publicly burnt (pp. 450–452).

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 282.

[3] Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini* (Braunsberg, 1885), pp. 338–339.

decreed by the Council of Trent. At the twenty-fifth session of this Church gathering it was emphatically laid down that the arts must not represent anything which might in any way imperil the faith, or produce error or superstition in the minds of the gazers ; nothing was to be produced in the way of church painting or sculpture which was not of a worthy and elevating character ; everything that was improper, or only attractive to the senses, or considered as ministering only to secular objects, was to be avoided.[1]

It was also a further sign of decadence that art gradually lost more and more of its national character, and sank into being a mere servitor of great people and of courts ; and in harmony with this character its principal achievements consisted in the building and sumptuous decoration of palaces, castles, and pleasure houses.

With the character of art the outward position of artists altered also. Art guilds continued to exist, it is true, but most of the artists dissolved their connection with them, and thus ceased to hold any fixed position in the civil organisation.

There were indeed many among them who were as distinguished as the old masters for humility and simplicity of heart, for quiet, steady industry, and for

[1] Jacob, p. 111. Dejob (p. 246 ff.) discusses the Italian writers who, on the ground of the decrees of the council, take up the cudgels against profanation of sacred art. Strange is his dictum (p. 240) : ' L'art de la Renaissance n'avait point été licencieux.' It was precisely with the so-called Renaissance that licentiousness among artists began, and Dejob rightly says (p. 251), concerning the Christian theorisers whom he criticises : ' On s'étonne que les théoriciens qui voulaient ramener l'esprit chrétien dans l'art, procédassent uniquement par préceptes, sans jamais proposer l'exemple des artistes antérieurs à la Renaissance proprement dite.'

active charity, and who, with all their preference and enthusiasm for the 'antique,' still retained the same deep Christian spirit which Michael Angelo expressed when, as an old man of seventy-five, he said: 'Art, like all things earthly, is nothingness, and cannot satisfy the soul; only the love of the Crucified One can do this.'[1]

But there were only too many to whom this independence of position was in the highest degree pernicious. From plain burghers they had become distinguished people, with all the habits and needs of the higher society of that luxurious, pleasure-seeking age.

How things stood in this respect at Venice, as early as the time of Dürer's sojourn there in 1506, may be gathered from that artist's letters to Willibald Pirkheimer. Well-disposed Italians themselves emphatically warned Dürer against associating too closely with the painters there, against eating and drinking with them. Dürer's account is that he found 'many excellent companions, intelligent scholars, good lute players, and pipers, connoisseurs in painting, and men of much noble feeling and genuine virtue,' but also 'the most perfidious, lying, thieving villains, such as,' he writes, 'I could not have believed darkened the face of the earth.' 'They are fully aware that all their infamy is well known, but they do not care an atom.' 'Nearly everybody is afflicted with the French disease, and there is nothing I fear more. Many are devoured by it and die.' The light, frivolous tone which frequently occurs in his letters betrays, moreover, the fact

[1] Guhl, *Künstlerbriefe*, i. 238–239, 242; cf. Graus, pp. 12–14.

that the life of the place was not without influence upon him, and that the 'smart life' met with his approval. He took leave of Venice with a heavy heart. 'Oh, how I shall pine for the sun! Here I am a fine gentleman; at home I am a parasite, *i.e.* a beggar.'[1]

Later German and Dutch artists, who flocked in numbers to the city of the Lagoons, got their fill of pleasure from the brilliant and dissolute place.

The 'new antique-Italian' art was transplanted into Germany; the old indigenous art, practised for many centuries, approved by works of the finest order, was displaced. In Italy this preference for 'the antique,' which appealed to old popular traditions, had in it some show of historic justification; but in Germany it was wanting in any national basis, and it was only grafted on to the German style as an entirely foreign growth. In Italy, under the guidance of artists of importance, it was, during its short blossoming, fruitful in works of sterling beauty and finished technique; in Germany, at least in the department of high art, it could not boast of a single master of the first rank, and it did not produce a single work which in real greatness and beauty, and in enduring worth, could bear comparison with the achievements of the old, native art. This indigenous art, at the time when the foreign intruder came, had by no means become 'outworn and exhausted,' any more than Christianity had outlived itself when the humanists began to enthuse for the heaven of the pagan gods; or than German jurisprudence had outgrown itself when it was displaced

[1] M. Thausing, *Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime* (Wien, 1872), pp. 5, 6, 7, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22. Concerning the word *Schmarotzer* or *Schmorotzer*, = *Bettler*, cf. Weigand's *German Dictionary*.

by the foreign Roman law; or than the German language had outlived its day when the scholars voted it 'a barbarous tongue,' and exchanged their German names for Latinised and Hellenised ones. Just as German national life, in all its branches, was driven out by the men of might and the leaders of fashion, and forced to give way to foreign customs, till by degrees it lapsed into complete alienism, so too native art disappeared from the land.

While at the end of the fifteenth century the great body of artistic activity was inspired and dominated by the spirit of the Middle Ages, twenty years later Dürer wrote: 'Nowadays everything must be antique.' Mere imitation was the highest level aimed at or reached. The German Renaissance is at bottom only a re-birth of the Italian re-birth, an after-birth of the latter.[1]

Only so long as the old traditions of art were recognised and the inner organisation of the old art guilds continued to exist, was any abundance of beautiful and excellent work produced. The more these traditions died out or became disregarded, the more masons' guilds and guild workshops went out of fashion, so much the more apparent was the deterioration of all art. The marked antagonism which gradually grew up

[1] Riehl (*Kulturstudien*, pp. 129–130) says most aptly: 'In the Renaissance the antique forms were resuscitated. At first these appeared in combination side by side with the mediæval ones, which later on they triumphed over. To adapt art models and forms is as difficult as to alter gowns. Only a few of the greatest architects and sculptors succeeded in exorcising the inner contradiction between the new life and the old art. No other period of art had such a short season of blossoming as the genuine Renaissance. On its first advent into the world it bore the stamp of mannerism on its brow. This mannerism in its full maturity is what has received the name of Rococo.'

between art and craftsmanship contributed largely to this result.[1]

Speaking generally it may be said that the new school of art had no roots in the broad strata of the life of the people, and derived no nourishment from the spirit of the nation, but was a mere plaything of the courts and of the great world, and was obliged to submit to their tyranny and caprice, and to adapt itself to the ruling fashions. But, however much it was propped up by the courts, it succumbed finally through inward weakness; because it had not come into existence organically, it lacked from the very first all harmonious unity. The different branches of art stood out separately and independently; architecture, which in all epochs of true art prosperity forms the centre and the point of departure of the collective art life, held a subordinate position. Ornamentation became the chief concern of art, and remained the most important element in all its branches.[2] The Italian artist Gioviano

[1] See Rahn, p. 766; A. Schultz in v. Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, ii. 358–359. See also Lange, *Flötner*, p. 176 ff.

[2] 'For all the great masters of older generations art had been so entirely a matter of inward and spiritual significance, that ornament played no large part in their work. The sphere of ornament is outward and sensuous. It was not, therefore, until art had begun to separate itself from its connections with national life and from its religious basis that decoration began to assume an important character and position, and expanded into exuberant blossoming.' C. von Lützow, in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iv. 214. F. Schneider, in the work quoted above, p. 23, n. 1 (*Gotik und Kunst: Brief an einen Freund*), says very pertinently: 'It is highly significant of the petty, parochial, pedantic art of us Germans, that it remains virtually untouched by the great wave of inspiration which at that time influenced nearly all departments of Italian art, but continues to cling only to externals. For the sake of decorative novelty they overlook the things that are essential.' 'It cannot be denied,' says Lange (*Flötner*, p. 164), 'that in these modern efforts and strivings, especially in the unqualified adoption of the ideas and models of the Italian Re-

Pontano, in 1500, assigned the first place in art to ornament, and actually declared it to be praiseworthy to go to extremes in this direction.[1]

As regards the connection of the new 'antique-Italian' school of art with the religious revolution, the former was by no means an outcome of the latter. Catholics as well as Protestants in Germany decided in favour of the new art.[2] 'The reign of the Gothic

naissance, there was great danger for German art, a danger which certainly had some share in bringing on the decay of German art.'

[1] 'Et in ornatu quidem, cum hic maxime opus commendet, modum excessisse etiam laudabile est;' see Burckhardt, *Gesch. der Renaissance in Italien*, p. 46 (3rd edition, 1891, p. 48). The antique models, which they had before their eyes, corresponded to these views. 'Roman architecture, of which a leading characteristic is straining after pomp and splendour, naturally indulges to excess in profusion of ornamentation, and by its union with sculpture produces results in which decoration is no longer an accessory, but an integral part, or, rather, the most important part, and that for which architecture exists.' Overbeck, *Gesch. der griech. Plastik*, ii. 307. To the Germans the new style of art which they learnt in Italy appeared, so says R. Dohme, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, i. 287, 'only as decoration, nothing more.' The German taste, so peculiarly susceptible to fanciful, exuberant ornamentation, was fascinated by the baroque element in the North Italian early Renaissance, 'attracted by those specialities which degenerate only too easily into caricature.'

** [2] Opinions well worthy of notice on the encroachment of the Renaissance on North German art are propounded by G. Schneeli, *Renaissance in der Schweiz. Studien über das Eindringen der Renaissance in die Kunst diesseits der Alpen* (Munich, 1896). Cf. H. A. Schmid in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, pp. 20, 480 ff., who sums up Schneeli's views briefly as follows: 'The political circumstances, the never-ending military campaigns, influenced not only the subject-matter, but also the outward form of plastic art. The eye became accustomed in Italy to the Renaissance, and the military life of the times created a demand for a variety of new objects, and also for their decoration. The services of plastic art were requisitioned, and new types came accordingly into existence. Thus, while the specimens of earlier art which survived the ravages of iconoclasm were only sufficient to enable historians to trace the development of art on broad lines, humanism settled the character which secular, civic art should thenceforth display. Even if the humanists themselves were wholly wanting in any sense of art, the intellectual nature of the new material supplied by humanism was

was everywhere at an end. In Catholic circles it

potent, according to Schneeli, to turn realism into a higher method of representation. The political conditions and the intellectual currents might indeed easily "have had their influence" on style. But the revolution which was accomplished corresponded to no real need, and in principle nothing was changed. Decoration—and decoration easily combines with other elements—installed itself, but the Gothic style remained still a long time firmly established, and might in the main have satisfied all requirements. The process was merely an outward manifestation, fortunate, accidental, just as one is pleased to call it, but nothing more or less than a fashion by which the great artists were carried away, often without being able to assert their own free-will. Dürer, at heart, stands far aloof from a style of art which makes outward form its chief aim. So, too, to a lesser degree, does Peter Vischer. Holbein was the first to endow the new fashion with the real spirit of Italian art, with its undefinable feeling for rhythm and harmony. The actual causes of the change of style lie in the perception of the enslaving of free decoration by the Gothic. The Van Eycks were the first to perceive this, and hence their preference for Romanesque forms, for hangings, and draperies. The minor arts developed the late Gothic, naturalistic ornament. This prepared the advent of the Renaissance, to which the chief impulse was given by printing. In the nineties it became the fashion in Upper Italy to have more elaborate embellishment on title-pages, and soon afterwards the Renaissance appeared in Germany. Italian artists furthered the movement in German lands.' On this point H. A. Schmid remarks: 'Schneeli's hypothesis concerning the outward cause which brought the Renaissance to Germany is very enlightening, and whether or no it exactly hits the mark, it is one of the most felicitous thoughts of his book. It seems, moreover, as if Schneeli had struck on the truth as far as he goes. On the other hand, the actual causes must lie deeper down than this. To us it appears that the same changes in national character which make certain political conditions impossible, which stir up fresh literary and learned movements, and so forth, have also the effect of changing the tastes of the small portion of the population who are susceptible to plastic art, and making that seem ugly and unbeautiful to them which before they thought beautiful. There are no such fashions as Schneeli assumes, and no such accidents. Moreover, at the beginning of the fifteenth century there was a general craving for something new, not only among a small group of painters, but over the whole of Germany; not only with regard to ornamentation, but in architecture generally; one proof of this, among others, is the erection of the large and spacious hall-churches, which came into vogue at this time (see above, p. 22, note). The demand for something new existed. The Gothic style was about to undergo a process of remodelling when the new style arrived from abroad. On the other hand, we cannot attribute any great importance—above all,

was even more strongly repudiated than among Protestants.' [1]

any developing influence—to the effect on art of ancient subject-matter, for it is precisely with the introduction of themes from Roman history that an essentially prosaic character becomes apparent in panel-painting.'

[1] Springer, *Bilder*, ii. 136. 'Gothic architecture,' says Lübke (*Plastik*, ii. 678), was 'the purest offspring of the mediæval spirit.' Naumann (i. 388 ff.), on the other hand, sees in it 'something Protestant,' because in it 'the Cross dominates all and everything,' and this 'suggests the devotion of Protestant art to the Passion, and the death on the Cross.' No less does he see 'Protestant tendencies' in the 'ever increasing prominence given to representations of the Passion in painting at the close of the Middle Ages, in opposition (!) to veneration of saints which had till then been the favourite subject (!), and the veneration of Mary.' Strangely original views on art are put forward by Richard Fischer in his work *Ueber Protestantismus und Katholizismus in der Kunst* (Berlin, 1853), where we find such statements as the following: 'Protestantism is altogether the foundation of all art and all art-life' (p. 13); 'annihilating the lies of all transcendentalism, all supernaturalism, it enshrines the spirit of the real as the true ideal' (p. 15); it is 'the source of all monumental art' (p. 16); 'of any such thing as Catholic art, of Catholic artistic beauty, there can be no question' (p. 23); 'the Protestant element' of civic life (*Bürgertum*) has prevailed since the end of the fourteenth century, notably in Wilhelm and Stephan, the masters of Cologne (p. 38); the brothers Van Eyck were already very advanced Protestants; with them 'the mysticism of dogma vanishes before the religion of nature which they venerated as artists' (p. 48), and so forth. To the works of the devil and the 'heretical revolts against the majesty of God' belongs notoriously, 'according to Catholic opinion,' the invention of printing, which first saw the light under the curses of the monks and priests' (p. 22). 'The ghostly spirit of Catholicism' (p. 83) leaves the author no rest or peace.

CHAPTER V

SECTION II.—ART WRITERS IN SUPPORT OF THE ANTIQUE-ITALIAN METHOD

Remarkable insight into the early development of the German Renaissance is obtained from certain writings of the sixteenth century which aim at propaganda of the new style, and which are at the same time guides to its understanding and practice. From these it is clearly seen that the German Renaissance was not the result of real inward absorption of the Italian methods, but only of outward imitation, that it was not built upon a profound understanding of the laws of the new Italian art—still less on an enlightened perception of the antique element underlying it—but was merely a matter of playing with externals.

On the threshold of the subject we are confronted with no less a figure than Albert Dürer. In almost all his great achievements in the domains of painting, of engraving, of woodcuts, he is, it is true, by no means a 'Renaissance master,' but still stands firmly on the ground of Christian German views and mediæval art traditions. Those works of art also which he executed after his return from Venice—with the exception of some accessories imitating the antique, and his 'Triumphal Arch of the Emperor Maximilian,' in which there are already signs of a tendency to the baroque—show very slight traces of Renaissance influence.

It is quite otherwise, however, with his learned disquisitions in his 'Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und Richtscheit' of the year 1525, and in his 'Proportionslehre,' which was not published till after his death.

In the first of these works he expresses the opinion that it was the Italians who first resuscitated true art, that of the Greeks and the Romans. 'How greatly art was honoured and venerated by the Greeks and Romans,' he writes,' 'is amply shown by old books, notwithstanding that it subsequently disappeared and was hidden from sight for some 2,000 years, and that it is only two centuries ago that it was again resuscitated by the Italians (*Walhen, Wälschen*). For verily it is an easy matter for the arts to disappear, but it is only with difficulty and length of time that they are brought back again to light.' 'The old books of the Greeks and Romans,' he said, 'must form the basis of art instruction, especially those of the "great master Vitruvius," who wrote in such a truly artistic manner concerning solidity, utility, and decoration in architecture, that he deserves to be studied and obeyed before other teachers.'

In the working out of a new style of architecture, to which task Dürer appears to have devoted himself,[1] he could count on extensive support from his German contemporaries, who were most of them dominated by the craving for novelty; for, said Dürer, 'as a rule, everybody who wants to build something new is delighted to get hold of some new fashion that has never been seen before.'

Considering, however, the specimens of 'new art'

[1] See v. Zahn, *Dürers Verhältnis*, pp. 96–97.

which he left behind in his sketches for a pillar commemorating a battle, for a triumphal monument in honour of the subjugation of the rebellious peasants, for the gravestone of a drunkard, it is scarcely to be regretted for his fame's sake that he was prevented by death from executing 'a still greater number of admirable, rare, and artistic things,' which, according to Pirkheimer, he had in his mind.[1]

In the first of these monuments the pillar consists of the tube of a cannon set up on end, powder barrels and ammunition bullets being placed at the corners of the base; in the second, untethered cows, sheep and swine surround the quadrangular pedestal of the column. Four baskets, containing cheese, eggs, butter, onions and cabbages, crown the corners of the pedestal: the artist who executed the design was free, Dürer said, to add to it anything else 'that occurred to him.' He himself added to the above articles an oat-bin, over which he placed an overturned kettle, and on the kettle a cheese-bowl covered with a plate; on the plate a butter-dish, and on the butter-dish a milk-jug. In the milk-jug he stuck a sheaf of corn, in which shovels, flails and dung-forks were bound up. An overturned hen-coop forms the capital of the column; a 'mourning' peasant, sitting on a grease pot and pierced by a sword, adorns the summit of the monument.[2]

A more incisive satire on the new art methods coming into vogue could not easily have been produced.

[1] See v. Eye, *Albrecht Dürer*, p. 466.

[2] Hermann Grimm, *Künstler und Kunstwerke*, ii. 228, says: 'Dürer's design for a monument of the conquered peasants (1525) is such a baroque, but at the same time pleasing, pile of naturalistic objects as nobody before or after him has ever produced.'

The 'new element' is no less to the fore in Dürer's monument of a drunkard. On the pedestal stands a cask of beer covered with a draughts-board, on which are two bowls, one on the top of the other, with the motto: 'Herein you'll find a banquet.' Then comes 'another squat beer-jug with two handles,' covered with a plate on which stands a tall beer-glass turned upside down, and lastly a basket containing bread, cheese and butter.[1]

Considering the great renown which Dürer everywhere enjoyed, such inventions must have made a vivid impression on the imaginative genius of his contemporaries in art, bitten as they already were with all sorts of fantastic ideas; and there was scarcely need of his express admonition that each one should strive 'to make further new developments.' How very differently did Dürer's fine artistic sense display itself, both as regards grandeur of conception and power of expression, so long as he remained free—as, for instance, in his 'Apocalypse,' or 'The Knight, Death and the Devil,' 'St. Jerome in his Cell,' and in 'Melancholy'[2]—from the influence of a false naturalism.[3]

Twenty years later another theoriser, the Nurem-

[1] These sketches are in the *Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt* (Nuremberg edition of 1538), Bl. J–J[4].

[2] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 245–248.

[3] In the year 1531 Jerome Rodler, secretary to the Prince of Simmern, published *Ein schön nützlich Büchlin von Unterweisung der Kunst des Messens mit dem Zirckel, Richtscheidt, oder Linial* because the two books by Albert Dürer, *Die Kunst und Unterweisung der Messung* and the *Proportz menschlicher Bild*, were written in 'such a hyper-artistic, unintelligible manner' that they were not adapted to beginners in art, but 'only to the highly initiated.' 'We see here everywhere,' says Lübke (*Renaissance in Deutschland*, i. 152), 'a growing desire for the adoption of Renaissance models and forms, but without any real understanding of the new methods.'

berg physician and mathematician Walter Rivius, fashioned the cradle of the German *Zopf*. He published in 1547 a book entitled 'In müssigen Zeiten zu sonderlicher Ergötzung und Recreation' ('In Idle Hours, for Enjoyment and Recreation'), and a 'Neue Perspectiv,' and in the following year a 'deutscher Vitruv' ('German Vitruvius'), and these comprehensive works went through several editions.[1] In the last book Rivius literally revels in Vitruvius and his successors. The dedicatory preface, addressed to the burgomaster and council of Nuremberg, is to the effect that before the resuscitation of the Roman architect there had been no architects worthy of mention. Nowhere but in the antique would Rivius recognise 'the true basis of architecture' which 'was quite extinct in Germany,' and he insisted first and foremost on the training up of 'learned' architects, such as were to be found in Italy.[2] German architects, he said, must learn Latin and Greek, and where possible new languages also, 'because in no barbarous foreign tongue hitherto spoken had there been fewer writings or books on the newly discovered arts than in the German language, with the exception of the books by the far-famed artist Albert Dürer.' Furthermore, architects must have a knowledge of music, medicine and astronomy; but they would only attain to perfection, according to the dictum of Vitruvius, by the study of philosophy.[3]

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 152.

[2] Rivius, *Vitruv*, pp. 18, 19, 34, 189, 249.

[3] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 160–163. 'In the North, fortunately, the adoption of such theories was long hindered by mediæval traditions.' In his *Neue Perspectiv* Rivius, among other circumstantial instructions, gave directions as to how by means of a mass of geometrical lines an antique drinking-cup could be made out of an egg, in a way, the author

In order to show off his own learning, Rivius recommended, in conformity with the directions of foreign books on art, 'the alteration of the bosses which an intelligent architect might make according to his own taste in a variety of ways;' for instance, 'the introduction of Caryatides' in embroidered and decorated drapery, bas-reliefs representing kneeling warriors 'in antique dress,' 'such as' he knew 'were fashioned with great care and marvellous thought and cunning by the ancient architects for the Persian halls of the Lacedæmonians.' He further recommended as models 'the artistically sculptured pillars, such as are in vogue with the Italians of our own day;' Hermæ, mummified, or ending in the stem of a tree, with Turkish turbans and flowing mantles, or with two female busts. Following the lead of his Italian predecessors, he aimed at reintroducing the Greek temple by adopting its principal shapes and its façades, and applying these to the many-aisled Renaissance churches with cross vaults and cupolas, and sometimes crowning volutes and gables with couching dragons and stags. On the model of Vitruvius he was most insistent in pointing out to the architects the manner in which the Greek temples varied according to the different deities to whom they were dedicated. Above all, 'the buildings erected to goddesses and tender virgins were so pretty, so tastefully and elegantly adorned and decorated, that these tender goddesses could dwell in them with delight.' The tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, according to his description, is an octagonal building with five stories,

adds, 'that even the far-famed, wonderful artist Albrecht Dürer had not demonstrated.' The geometrical juggleries of the late Gothic were far outstripped here.

and covered with all sorts of exquisite ornamentation in the shape of couching lions, dolphins and dragons, an angel with sword and shield, and skeleton figure of death, a naked woman with the dial of a clock, a Madonna and Child, angels blowing trumpets, and a number of bells; on the top of the roof, to serve as a weathercock, a Triton lies on its stomach blowing a trumpet. The monument of the 'great and mighty King Mausolus,' as planned by Rivius, was a quadrangular structure with cross vault, expanding into a Greek cross; it was to be built up with pilasters and gable-crowned windows, with little cupolas over the arms of the cross; a town with mediæval gates and battlemented walls, and a royal palace with towers, projections, balconies and pinnacles was to form the background.[1]

To produce 'wonders and novelties of this sort' was naturally not given to everyone, and accordingly Rivius wisely warned young artists against embarking on the vocation of a 'veritable architect;' for this was no light matter in view of the extraordinary astuteness of the present age, which knew how to do and to 'outdo' everything with the utmost perfection. Rivius looked down contemptuously on the old masonic guilds, 'the vulgar, ordinary master-builders and stone-masons;' these men, he said, were so coarse-minded that they could not understand or make anything of worth.[2]

The more pronounced the decadence of true architecture, sculpture and painting became, the more numerous were the publications which aimed at 'instructing all well-disposed and intelligent people in

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 162.

[2] From the *Neue Perspectiv*, in Lübke, i. 164.

these arts,' and 'bringing back into fashion true antique art.' [1] Among a number of others Rutger Kässmann, 'the Vitruvian architect,' stands out as an instructor of this kind: according to him, 'architecture after the antique' flourished 'as early as the time of Solomon,' 'who caused the temple at Jerusalem to be built in Corinthian style.' [2]

Amongst the devotees of the new art the man of most fertile fancy and invention was the Strassburg architect and painter, Wendel Dietterlein, a highly esteemed man, who, with other artists, was summoned to Stuttgart by Duke Louis of Würtemberg for the rebuilding of his 'far-famed pleasure-house.' In 1593 he published in this town a work entitled 'Architectura und Austheilung der fünf Säulen,' which gained great approval, and appeared in 1598 in an improved edition.[3]

[1] In addition to the books mentioned in Lübke, i. 165, see those of Pieter Koeck, mentioned in Fiorillo, ii. 461, and (p. 485) the remarks on Johann Fredemann de Vries, who published no fewer than twenty-six volumes. Carl von Mander (1603–1604) published an explanation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in order to provide artists with directions for executing the figures; see Schnaase, viii. 109. Respecting the Nuremberg printer, Johannes Petrejus, Neudörffer says (p. 177): 'His thoughts will always be a standing guide to those who may wish to compile good books about the fine arts.'

[2] Lübke, i. 166.

[3] Nuremberg, 1598. Wendel Dietterlein must not be confounded with Wendel Dietrich, the architect who was so active at Munich (see Rée, p. 33). Respecting Dietterlein, cf. the *Ausführungen von Klemm*, Würtemberg architect and sculptor, p. 145 ff.; K. v. Lützow in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iv. 232; and the monograph of Ohnesorge, Leipzig, 1893. Bezold, in *Baukunst der Renaissance in Deutschland*, p. 97, calls Dietterlein's *Architectura* 'a worthy *pendant* to Fischart's *Gargantua*. Whoever will take the trouble to compare these two works will be astonished at the parallelism in their ideas. W. Dietterlein has also at command an astounding quantity of forms, which he scattered about wholesale among his designs. He is one of the most prolific spirits of the German Renaissance; but he, too, did not free himself from the incubus of the new art which kept it down to the level of the minor arts;

He was not concerned, Dietterlein says in his preface, about his own fame or profit, but only desired, from love of the subject, to spread the right taste in art, most especially for the benefit of the young, who hitherto had not been instructed in the true principles of art.

Dietterlein figures in Germany as the great master of the baroque style, which entirely ignored the mutual relationship of the different arts. All his work is heavy and cumbersome, notwithstanding that the masonry seems alive with ornamental accessories of all sorts.[1]

In defence of his fancies 'beyond everything wonderful,' he might appeal to Dürer's admonition that 'every artist should endeavour to produce something novel;' that 'even if the renowned Vitruvius and others had sought out and found excellent things, this did not prove that there was nothing more that was good to be discovered.' Dürer's extraordinary memorial pillars evidently served Dietterlein as models, when, for instance, he was working at his 'Culinary Portal' which has so often been described, in which Atlas is represented as a corpulent cook, bearing two bowls on his head to represent the capital of the pillar, at his girdle two bundles of snipes and a kitchen knife, and holding a soup-ladle in his hand; on the frieze are seen kitchen spoons crossed, in the cornices heads of wild swine,

indeed, he was not aware that it was an incubus, but in a happy-go-lucky way mixed up art proper and industrial art. In his designs he takes no account either of material or execution; as they are here sketched no great architectural work could be carried out from them. He even harks back to the Gothic style, and takes it up at the point where it ceased a hundred years before. If, however, we are content to take him for what he is, we cannot but admire his wealth of forms, his inexhaustible fancy, and the plastic power with which he is able to bring the most antagonistic forms into harmonious unity of effect.'

[1] Leixner, pp. 248–250; Falke, *Geschmack*, p. 166.

and above these a group of hares and deer, with kitchen kettles, and a spit with sausages on it; as a reminder of the antique a half-naked Ceres was also introduced.[1] If Vitruvius compared Doric pillars to the figure of a man, Dietterlein went even further and made a man stand for a pillar, and moreover, in order to emphasise the military character of the Dorians, a man in complete warlike accoutrement.[2] Statues of Mercury are represented by him as peasants enclosed in wine-barrels, with their feet, shod in wooden sabots, sticking out below, and their heads, covered with a hand-basin for a capital, showing above.[3] Such 'ingenious' flights of invention as this Dürer could scarcely have foreseen when he himself loaded his capitals with all sorts of arbitrary decoration, and encouraged the workmen who should execute his designs to add 'further beautiful objects,' 'such as foliage, heads of animals, birds—anything in short which commended itself to their genius.' To the 'genius' of Dietterlein the antique 'nudities' also commended themselves. The climax in this respect is reached in a design for a chimney-piece, a naked Juno on the lap of Jupiter.[4]

[1] Figur 75; cf. Lübke, i. 170–171. Figur 144 corresponds in utter want of taste to the 'Culinary Portal.'

[2] Figur 46. The Corinthian pillar (fig. 136) is the figure of a voluptuous woman clad only round the loins.

[3] The most extraordinary conceits and fancies appear in figures 36, 76, 82, 83, 146, 164, 183; cf. Lübke, i. 170; J. Wassler, *Das Dorische in der Renaissance*, in v. Lützow's *Zeitschr.* xiv. 338–339. 'The "golden age" of the German Renaissance,' says Wassler, 'produced the most inconceivable eccentricities. The German offspring far overtopped the head of its Italian father. Italian art-literature contains no book which, in exaggeration and extravagance, comes in the least near to our Wendel Dietterlein: compared to Dietterlein, Pozzo is a chaste spirit.' 'Dietterlein is in very truth an architectural Hell-Breughel.'

[4] Figur 149; see Andresen, ii. 270. Cf. the figure 76 in Lübke, i. 168.

Such was the depth of decadence to which architecture and sculpture had come in the sixteenth century in Germany. All that theorisers asserted as to the right of giving free play to the fancy in the invention of new forms was abundantly carried out in practice. Even Dietterlein's wild eccentricities found many imitators.[1]

[1] See R. Dohme in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, i. 327, 369; Ebe, i. 235–236. Lübke (i. 170) inveighs against Dietterlein's 'veritable witches' sabbath of the baroque style, then sowing its wild oats,' but he makes the Jesuit Order responsible for the imitations of this Protestant architect. 'It was the time,' he says, 'in which the Jesuit Order was setting in motion every possible means—legitimate and illegitimate—for the advancement of the newly rekindled Catholicism. The fantastic abortions of the baroque style were admirably adapted to this purpose.' Woltmann (*Kunst im Elsass*, p. 315) says that this remark of Lübke is excellent. While, however, Lübke at first accuses Dietterlein of having produced a 'veritable witches' sabbath,' at p. 270 he says eulogistically: 'The Strassburg masters still retain something of the character of the old German masons' guilds, and continue to stand in active relation to Germany' [but did the Strassburgers at that time already belong to France, and, nevertheless, 'still stand in active relationship to Germany'!]. At the end of the century it is Wendel Dietterlein who, summoned to Stuttgart, publishes there his widely influential copper-engravings. At p. 376 Lübke reckons him among 'the best artists of the time.'

CHAPTER VI

SECTION III.—ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE AFTER THE ANTIQUE-ITALIAN MANNER—OSTENTATION OF THE GREAT PEOPLE AND OF THE PRINCES [1]

FROM the very outset the new architecture, which was described as German Renaissance art, had no

[1] 'German Renaissance is the standing name for all present-day German art achievement, art instruction, and so forth, above all in the sphere of industrial art. It is believed that in the architectural and decorative art of the sixteenth century there lurks a genuine national element, by the development of which German art will advance to new, independent blossoming. An egregious blunder, which, in view of the confusion it has already caused, will scarcely enjoy lengthy duration' (Wilhelm Bode, *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, ii. 228). If, on the other hand, we are to believe Woltmann, this is the state of the case: 'In Italy it was easier than elsewhere to discard the Gothic style when it had outlived itself, for its loss there was made up for by the renewed connection with the classic traditions of the land. When this "classicised" Renaissance style found its way into Germany, it came as no mere foreign, imported product, but as something which had been long yearned after, for which the way had long been preparing by the work of indigenous craft, and it was incorporated in its new home in a manner adapted to the national characteristics of Germany. By the development of Renaissance architecture German architecture received a new impulse, and passed through a fresh period of excellence' (*Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, pp. 19, 26). In what this so-called 'new period of excellence' consisted, R. Dohme, comparing it with the mediæval period, has admirably described: 'The mediæval development presents a picture of progressive ripening to a definite goal, for the realisation of which artists of different times and places all worked unconsciously. When ecclesiastical architecture had completed its task of bringing the building of five-nave cathedrals to the utmost pitch of perfection, another variant of the problem presented itself in the construction of the (so-called) hall-churches, which lasted to the end of the period. With the Renaissance, however, there set in, instead of the accustomed definite working towards a well-defined

actual style of its own, least of all had it a 'national' style: it evolved no organic development of new forms

goal, an aimless, uncertain groping and feeling about in all directions, and the building of churches and cathedrals, previously the leading feature in architecture, was thrown into the background by the Reformation movement. But secular architecture also suffered from the political conditions of the country.' 'The political and financial might of the German princes was frittered away in the pursuit of personal and private interests; such, also, was the case with the power of the imperial house.' 'As in politics, so, too, in architecture, the absence of large, impersonal motives made itself felt. To such an extent did the art of the period concern itself with small things that even the works executed for princely patrons were small in conception.' 'Even the one ecclesiastical prince in whom there was some vein of the Italian Mæcenas, Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, notwithstanding the vastness of his aspirations, never but once rose to an elevated point of view, and even this once the execution ended in commonplaceness. I allude to the cemetery at Halle, planned on a monumental scale, with its circumambient arcades. It is in its way a unique achievement in Germany, but it lacks all grandeur of execution. How poor and feeble its arcades seem compared with the artistic distinction of every loggia on a Tuscan villa!' Even the most important achievement of the Renaissance in Germany, the Otto-Henry wing of the castle of Heidelberg, is mere patchwork. 'When the Elector Otto Henry had this wing, which bears his name, added to the castle at Heidelberg, it did not occur to him, as it would have done to any Italian or Frenchman, that the old irregular buildings should be remodelled in order to harmonise with the new part. His only thought was to add to the old medley of buildings a new structure, and to make this new part as perfect as possible. The whole of Germany cannot show, as the outcome of this period, one grandly conceived and throughout finely executed work, such, for instance, among many other specimens of the Romanesque period, as the citadel of Henry the Lion at Brunswick, or, from the Gothic epoch, the headquarters of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg, and, at the threshold of the seventeenth-century art, the residential building at Munich.' It is only in the sphere of the minor arts that any 'artistic power' is still displayed, but the influence of craftsmanship on architectonic work is not advantageous to the latter. For the taste for elaborate working up of details gradually overgrows and stifles the fundamental structural ideas. Added to this was the wilful misinterpretation of the classic canons concerning the mutual relationship of parts; so that at last, at the highest period of the Renaissance, scarcely any difference is made between the forms and mouldings on the wooden wainscottings in the interior of houses and the ornamental stone carvings of the façades; for the whole style altogether lacks the constructive basis which restricts ornament within definite limits, and is nothing more than arbitrary

originating in constructive ideas; on the contrary, this so-called new art consisted more or less only in the revival of antique modes of decoration.[1] It merely repeated—often, indeed, confusing and spoiling—all the new elements that the fifteenth century had produced as regards enclosure of space and treatment of proportions; while it borrowed the language of form either directly from the Italian art which it only half understood, or else, in the North, from Flemish art which it wofully distorted.[2]

Work of real merit and distinction was only pro-

decoration dominating and displacing the original forms at its pleasure, and having no inherent connection with the inward motive of the structure' (*Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, i. 290–291. See also C. Schnaase in v. Lützow, *Zeitschr.* ix. 212). Lotz (*Statistik*, i. 15–16) says: 'Ere long the whole wealth of methods which Christian art had evolved during centuries of unparalleled development were all cast aside. With a few rare exceptions the works of the Renaissance are destitute of true life, of inward law (inevitableness), and they bear the stamp of arbitrary superficiality, or spiritual barrenness. As for the churches, so far as they are anything more than mere translations from the Gothic, as the Church of St. Mary at Wolfenbüttel, and the superstructure on the tower of St. Kilian at Heilbronn, the Renaissance style suits them least of all.'

[1] Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 394: 'It was a mongrel growth, and even worse than this, just as was the old Roman art.' Cf. Lübke, *Plastik*, ii. 678–679. Concerning the pre-eminently decorative character of Renaissance art, see also Carrière, *Renaissance et Réformation*, pp. 70–73.

[2] Wilhelm Bode, in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, ii. 228, says: 'German Renaissance architectural decoration has little perfect work to show' (v. Lützow, xi. 111). 'In the later German buildings constructed according to Renaissance forms it is plainly manifest that the painter and designer had been at work before the architect. All that is blamed, and justly so, in German Renaissance architecture—the want of regard to the material, the incongruous and excessive ornamentation by which the structure is always overloaded and obscured—is quite easily explained, and ceases to be a matter of reproach (!) when these forms of the designer are found used with decorative intent' (Springer, *Bilder*, ii. 38–39). The Italian art theoriser, Leon Battista Alberti, 'actually derived the art of building from a pre-existing school of painting. The architect, he said, had got his first ideas of pillars and beams from the painter' (Burckhardt, *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 42).

duced when the architect still held firmly to the old traditions, and to the Gothic principles,[1] or else turned entirely to the Italian Renaissance.

When, through study of the numerous textbooks of art, a closer acquaintance had been gained with the models and methods of ancient art, these last came to be combined with Gothic forms, and thus there arose a so-called 'mixed style' (mongrel style would be a better name) which very soon passed into the baroque style, or senseless, immoderate piling up of ornamentation. At first the artists went to the plant world for their models for decoration; but by the middle of the century cartouche work and metal style work had already come into fashion; all sense of necessary correspondence between the structure as a whole and the decoration of the structural parts disappeared, and no such thing as true architecture any longer existed. Regard for the nature of the material—so strenuously insisted on by Gothic art—was entirely forgotten; the technique of wood-carving was applied equally to stone; the stone-

[1] 'The principal charm of those buildings which the Renaissance artists recommended as models is found in the sections which have survived from the Gothic period in spite of the influence of the Renaissance, and their charm is due to the fact that in these portions the German character is not completely denied and the old traditions altogether disregarded; but, on the contrary, Gothic root-principles are kept steadily in sight, while it is only with regard to externals that the artist borrows more or less from the antique. Precisely the same thing happened, moreover, in other countries, especially in France, where a considerable number of architectural works present the same characteristics as do those in our own country which are labelled "Renaissance." There can therefore be no question of specific German art, or of a "national" style. All the same, the old masters of the early Renaissance did admirable work. In them alone mediæval tradition was not quite extinguished, and they had, moreover, at their disposal the earlier technique which was so especially brilliant during the late Gothic period' (Reichensperger, *Zur Profanarchitectur*, p. 39).

cutters borrowed from ironworkers ideas for the ornamentation of gate pillars, columns, and socles; decorative designs for wooden buildings were taken from stone architecture; for allegorical or figurative decoration designs were collected from all the various branches of art;[1] the decoration of inside spaces was treated in the same manner as that of external façades. There was aimless expenditure of energy and invention in all directions and of all kinds; pillars were designed merely for the sake of cornices, cornices for the sake of mouldings. Thus ornament became the principal element of the new style, the actual basis of all architecture. The voluptuousness and ostentation of the time showed itself in the fashions of decoration which, keeping pace with the spirit of the age, very soon developed all sorts of monstrosities.[2] In the depart-

[1] Springer (*Bilder*, ii. 152) says: 'It is precisely this mixture of kinds, this miscellaneous borrowing from different branches of art, which constitutes the "independence and originality of the decorative art." It is in the domain of ornament that we must look for the artistic value of the German Renaissance.'

[2] The course of development indicated above is also exemplified in the district of Old Nether Saxony—above all, in the beautiful and artistic town of Hildesheim—where the German wooden architecture, which has lately attained to honourable recognition, put forth its richest and noblest fruits, and has lasted down to the present day. The Gothic wooden houses built before the coming in of the Renaissance still retain intact that indigenous character which resulted from an harmonious combination of style and material. Their boldly projecting, picturesque profiles are produced by the overhanging of the different stories, each of which projects considerably beyond the one beneath it. By means of wooden struts (called in German *Kopfbänder*) the pressure of the projecting joists or beams is thrown on the uprights, which last are fixed firmly by cross-beams. The angles formed by the struts are filled in with planks embellished by appropriate painting or flat carving. In like manner the struts are decorated with figures and coats of arms, the horizontal beams with friezes, the beam-heads are carved into faces, the doors and windows are framed with carving, and the bricks of the panels are arranged in varying patterns; the uprights only are left bare

ment of ecclesiastical architecture, strict adhesion to the Gothic style continued in some districts until long

of ornament. Above the lower structure, often exceeding it in height, there rises a steep, so-called saddle-roof, which in Westphalia turns the gable end towards the street, but east of the Weser runs parallel to the street. Even after the advent of the Renaissance this feature of Gothic architecture was still retained with Nether Saxon tenacity: it is only in the ornamentation that 'antique forms' appear. Such, for instance, is the case with the most beautiful creation of wooden architecture—the Hildesheim Butchers' Hall of the year 1529, a mighty edifice with eight overhanging stories, which looks majestically down on the beautiful market-place. The carving on the horizontal beams, the beam-heads and the struts, which belong mostly to the new style, are of consummate beauty and masterly technique. The further course of the sixteenth century shows the struggle between the wooden Gothic and the Renaissance forms taken from stone architecture. Instead of filling in the spaces with bricks, after 1540 they are filled in with panels, and from 1578 these panels give place to edged or rounded staves. The figures of saints, so beloved of old, have given place to mythological and allegorical figures, which, being quite unfamiliar to the people, have to be made intelligible by the addition of their names. At the end of the century we have a translation of stone into wooden architecture. The struts are worked up like stone consoles, the uprights have become carved pilasters; dentils, strings of pearls, and so forth, displace the Gothic mouldings which corresponded to the nature of the wood; the horizontal beams have become architraves; the window-parapets metopes. The ornamentation, seldom designed from plants, and taken generally from stone or metal work, is modelled flat, and stands out with sharp edges. We notice only one constructive innovation at this period, and that is the so-called *Auslughten* (*i.e.* look-outs), a rectangular projection in the façade which rises from the ground like a bow-window, and at a later date is actually built up to the roof. In many cases, moreover, instead of there being only one of these projections, there are several to the same building, so that the façade is divided into groups, with a very picturesque result. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that the houses at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, owing to their felicitous situation, their picturesque design, and their wealth of ornament, produce a very favourable impression. It is not until the gruesome times of the Thirty Years' War that the complete decay of wooden architecture begins; its characteristic features are gradually effaced, and finally the overhanging stories disappear, and with these the last reminiscence of mediæval art. Concerning the high buildings of Hildesheim, see, in addition to the work of C. Lochner, the admirable article of Pastor Graën, in the *Jahresbericht des Görres-Vereins* for 1891;

past the middle of the sixteenth century; but in consequence of the disturbed conditions and the material distress brought about by the religious revolution, we find that in Catholic Germany also, as compared with earlier periods, few important buildings appeared for a long space of time.[1] It was not till the work of Catholic restoration had been accomplished that this condition of things was changed. The re-establishment of Church and religious life, which took place under the influence of this strong ecclesiastical movement, was followed by the production of a long series of sacred monuments and works of art which almost all belong to the new style of the epoch, *i.e.* the Renaissance.[2]

Chiefly in Bavaria and Austria, but also in many other ecclesiastical territories, new churches sprang up; and at the same time old ones were remodelled in the style of the day, not always to the advantage of true art. The churches were refurnished with the products of Renaissance art, often in such abundance that the olden-time monuments completely disappeared.[3] However much this new art may be condemned from an

S. and K. Steinacker, *Die Holzbaukunst Goslars. Ursachen ihrer Blüte und ihres Verfalls.* Diss. Heidelberg, 1899.

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance in Germany*, ii. 230; Neumann, pp. 112–113.

[2] Amongst other additions built on to Gothic churches may be noticed those in Magdeburg up to the year 1520, in Zerbst up to 1530, in Zwickau up to 1536, in Merseburg up to 1540, in Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, up to 1525, in Lüdinghausen, in Westphalia, up to 1558, in Münster up to 1568. In Bavaria and Suabia there was even more energetic action in this respect: in Amberg up to 1534; in Freising up to 1545; in Scheyern up to 1565; in Lauingen up to 1576; in Landshut up to 1580; in Böblingen up to 1587. In the Church of St. Ulrich, in Augsburg, additional building went on up to 1594. See H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie*, p. 506 ff.

** [3] Graus, in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, p. 41.

æsthetic point of view, innumerable specimens of it bear striking witness to vitality of faith, and pious delight in beautifying the holy sanctuaries, and to the undoubted merits of the Catholic restoration which resulted from the Tridentine Church reform.[1]

From the artistic standpoint it was decidedly an advantage that the two German princely houses which remained true to the old Church, the Hapsburgers and the Wittelsbachers, did not employ artists of the 'empire,' who would have built and sculptured and painted in the German Renaissance style; but that they sent for Italians, who worked in genuine, southern Renaissance methods familiar to them from their birth. 'In this choice of foreign artists, which had such important results on German native art, the determining causes were the close intercourse of the Houses of Hapsburg and Wittelsbach with the great Catholic centre, imperial Rome; their connection with the reigning families of Italy (at Mantua and Florence), as also with the Spanish Government at Milan; and, lastly, the support which the champions of the Catholic Church in Germany enjoyed pre-eminently in Italy, the headquarters of Catholicism.' The fact, also, that the Italian masters in the art of fortress-building enjoyed a monopoly of fame had much to do with their transportation to Austria and Bavaria.[2] Masters of the Venetian school of Sansovino had been employed in Prague by the Emperor Ferdinand I. since 1534. Archduke Charles II. followed the example of his father.

** [1] Graus, *Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, p. 41.

** [2] Graus, *l. c.* 1897, pp. 41–43. Concerning Italian fortress-builders in Styria, see Wassler in the *Mittheil. d. Vereins f. Geschichte in Steiermark*, pp. 43, 167 ff. For general matters, see also Bezold, *Baukunst*, p. 16.

Under him and under Archduke Ferdinand, there grew up at the court an active art life, the history of which has only lately become known.[1] Of special importance as to results was the appointment of Salustro Peruzzi, the son of the famous Roman artist, who transplanted Renaissance art directly, and in all its purity, into Styria.[2]

A still more important centre for art in Catholic Germany was the town of Munich. While here, under Albert V., and above all under William V., preference was given to religious art, at the imperial court at Prague and at the archducal court at Innsbruck secular art held the prominent place.[3]

Amongst the ecclesiastical princes, Julius of Mespelbrunn (1573–1618), prince-bishop of Würzburg, was especially distinguished for enthusiastic love of architecture, and for genuine religious zeal in the erection of sacred edifices. At his death it was calculated that as many as three hundred churches in his diocese had been either built or restored by him.[4] The most striking

** [1] J. Wassler, *Das Kunstleben am Hofe zu Graz unter den Erzherzogen Karl II. und Ferdinand*, Graz, 1898.

[2] The most striking monument of the reign of the Archduke Charles is the beautiful mausoleum in the cathedral of Seckau (1587). 'Although it is not an independent structure, it exhibits such abundance of artistic work in marble and metal, stuccos and paintings, that it may be said to present a whole storehouse of the art capacity of that period' ** (cf. the fine article by J. Graus, 'Ein Andenken an die Erzherzogin Maria von Bayern,' in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, No. 4).

** [3] Fuller details below.

[4] In the 'Franconian prize poem' of 1604 it is boasted that: 'There were so many churches built that—

> Well it might be wondered at
> How it thus had happened that
> So many churches new had been
> Erected in one Prince's reign,
> So many old ones renovated,
> Enlarged, embellished, decorated

of his achievements are the *Juliusspital* with the Church of St. Kilian at Würzburg, and the university building in the same place with the church adjoining it. It is worthy of special mention that he employed almost exclusively German master-builders; in 1609 he found himself for the first time compelled to appoint an Italian as master-builder of the cathedral.[1] The numerous churches built by him are known by their 'pointed towers,' which, says a contemporary biographer, 'everywhere proclaim what districts belong and are subject to the Bishop of Würzburg and Duke of Franconia.'[2] Of any special 'Julius style' there can be no question; for Bishop Julius, mixing up Gothic and baroque, practised the new art methods in precisely the same way as was done all over the rest of Germany.

The so-called 'Jesuit style,' also, did not exist in Germany until after the first decades of the seventeenth century. The churches and colleges which were either built by the Jesuits, or built to their orders, correspond throughout to the other buildings of the period.[3] They

[1] Fuller details concerning the buildings and the whole art activity of the bishop, in Niedermayer's *Kunstgesch. von Würzburg* (Würzburg, 1860), pp. 265–280. Cf. Sighart, p. 678 ff.

[2] Niedermayer, p. 271; Buchinger, *Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn*, p. 206.

[3] ** 'If, however, there is any distinctly Jesuit feature in the churches of the Order,' says Graus (*Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, p. 107), 'I should say that, besides the strict conformity of means to end which they exhibit, and the perfect fitness for worship, it is a certain nobility in form, and still more so in the material. Marble altars, incised carvings (*intaglio*), and inlaid work (*intarsia*) of precious coloured stone, and a wealth of sculpture are predominant. Impressive dignity, dazzling brilliancy, and majestic proportions all combined to stimulate solemn and festive feelings. In the management of festive pomp for religious ends the Jesuits were eminently distinguished: buildings, altars, pictures, and statues all served to raise the people to a state of festive delight in the super-earthly treasures of the life beyond. The costliness of the stuffs, the exuberance

belong, however, to those of their works which are the least worth knowing. The Church of St. Michael, built by Duke William V. for the Order at Munich (1582–1597), is the grandest ecclesiastical creation of the so-called German Renaissance.[1] It is also 'the grandest ecclesiastical monument of the Order, and the clearest mirror of its popular influence.' [2]

of ornament, the life and energy in the attitudes of the figures of saints, the splendour of the vessels and the draperies on the altars, the swelling music at divine service, all combined with the wonderful display of decoration to arouse a veritable jubilee in the minds of the people. Furthermore, it is very important to credit the Jesuits with never procuring their artists from a distance, but invariably making use of the labour forces which they had found well tested at home.' See also Bezold, p. 130 ff.

[1] So says Lübke, ii. 22. He calls it 'an eminent achievement as regards technical construction.' 'The interior is of extraordinary beauty and grandeur of proportions, while the moderation and simplicity of the decoration enhance the beautiful effect of spaciousness: no contemporary building in Italy can compare with it.' Ebe (p. 236) dilates on 'the cylindric vault of the nave' as 'one of the most splendid vaults of all times.' The Jesuits Eisenreich, Haindl, and Valerian drew up the first plans for the St. Michael's Church. The actual master-builder was, at first, Wilhelm Eggl' (Fr. Trautmann, *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 21). ** To the Estates, who pointed to the evil condition of finances, William V. declared that in this sinful age the wrath of God must be propitiated. There were, besides, other great difficulties in the way of building, but they did not discourage the pious Duke; see Riezler, iv. 631. See also Gurlitt, p. 16; Bezold (*Baukunst*), p. 117 ff., and A. Schulz, *Die St. Michaelskirche in München. Festschrift zum 300jährigen Jubiläum der Einweihung*, Munich, 1897. The designs for the Church of St. Michael at Munich were made by Wendel Dietrich, who was court architect to Duke William from 1587 to 1597, for which office he received the then not inconsiderable pay of 300 florins. It is probable also that Wendel Dietrich drew the plans for the Jesuit Church of St. Salvator at Augsburg, which was built in 1580 and 1581. See *Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit*, Bamberg, 1893.

** [2] See J. Graus in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, pp. 102–103. This meritorious art historian remarks further on: "The magnificently spacious interior of this church—unique in Germany—is richly roofed in with architectural device and stucco decoration; but the internal decoration clearly shows that it was no longer the feeling of Italian masters, but

The Jesuit church at Coblentz (1609–1617) is also an imposing ecclesiastical edifice of technical excellence.[1] At Dillingen (1607–1617) a beautiful church was built for the Order of the Jesuits.[2] The sumptuous ornamentation of these churches is thoroughly in character with the taste of the period; 'the naves extended wide in admired popular fashion, the decoration and paintings frolicked in festive abundance, the architectural structure of the altars, with enormous paintings between resplendent golden statues of saints, was most imposing.'[3] To a later date belongs the long series of convent churches, grand also in their way, which were built (in South Germany especially) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the baroque style.[4]

Protestant Germany has nothing to set beside this vigorous activity. New churches were, comparatively speaking, seldom built,[5] and many old ones were de-

northern taste with its "German Renaissance," which influenced the completion of the building. The façade also displays the same characteristics; its storied divisions and the gable forms remind one of the style of a German burgher house. The fittings and furniture of the church, the altars, choir stalls, altar screens, &c., are in full keeping with the dignity of the interior. The high altar, with the beautiful tabernacle and the large picture of the holy archangel Michael, is a work of Master Wendel Dietrich of Augsburg, done whilst the church was being built.'

[1] Lübke, ii. 462; Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 249. ** See also Gurlitt, p. 20.

** [2] S. O. von Lochner, *Die Jesuitenkirche zu Dillingen*, Stuttgart, 1895.

** [3] See the important article of J. Graus, 'Von alten Jesuitenkirchen und Jesuitenkunst,' in the *Kirchenschmuck*, 1897, No. 8 ff. See especially No. 11 respecting the Jesuit church at Laibach, built in 1613–1615.

** [4] Keppler, *Wanderung durch Württembergs letzte Klosterbauten* (Hist.-pol. Bl. 1888), *Württemb. Kunstalterthümer*, xxxiv.

** [5] The church built by the Protestant Provincial Estates at Klagenfurt is worthy of notice. This house of God, consecrated in 1597, exhibits throughout, both in design and construction, the traditions and methods of Catholic baroque churches; see Grazer, *Kirchenschmuck*, 1884,

stroyed. In some Protestant religious buildings Gothic influence continues for a longish period, and a style obtains which is an amalgam of Gothic and Renaissance. The Prince of Württemberg's architect, Henry Schickhardt of Herrenberg (1558–1634), built a series of churches in the mongrel style.[1]

In the interior of the Protestant chapel of the castle at Liebenstein near Heilbronn the vaulting rests on ribs, but instead of pillars there are Corinthian columns; in front there are two Renaissance porches, with a pediment above with pilasters, medallions, volutes, and obelisks: all exquisite, but profane.[2]

p. 44 ff., and 1897, p. 129. It passed, in 1604, into the possession of the Jesuits—a case that stands alone.

** [1] Keppler, *Württemb. Kunstalterthümer*, xxxiv.

** [2] Keppler, *Württemb. Kunstalterthümer*, p. 21 ff. The so-called 'hall-churches' (Saal-Kirchen) are peculiar to Protestant Germany. To these belongs the castle chapel at Torgau, consecrated by Luther in 1544. See the account (not, indeed, wholly above criticism) of N. Müller, *Über die deutschen evangelischen Kirchengebäude im Jahrhundert der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1895.—R. Dohme, in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, i. 368, 370, says: 'There is not even an attempt to trace the development of the gallery, which forms so important a feature of evangelical churches, although it was certainly struggling into existence in the later period of the Middle Ages, and now in Catholic Würzburg (1582–1591) has blossomed into a brilliant adjunct. The question of fixing on some definite normal plan of building for evangelical worship did, indeed, occupy the architectural world from the end of the sixteenth century, but the solutions at first offered have no deeper significance. So, for instance, Schickhardt (1599) builds his church at Freudenstadt from the two sides of a right angle, and at Hanau there is actually an attempt to combine two polygonal structures, a larger and a smaller one, in such a manner that the belfry tower and a part of the outside walls should be one common structure—an architectonic monstrosity.' On the whole, what Naumann (p. 119) says of the Baltic provinces is applicable to the whole of Protestant Germany: 'Grandiose ecclesiastical edifices, such as the fervent piety of the Middle Ages produced, were no longer seen in the land. Into the old Catholic churches, robbed of their primitive glory of artistic adornment, the new religion made its way, and settled itself in them according to the exigencies of its own rites.'

While the want of any great and new artistic creations of a religious character showed up the nature of the German Protestant spirit, which, however much religion might be professed and fought about, was by no means a religious spirit, so, on the other hand, the general spirit of the age was clearly revealed in the achievements of secular architecture, with its hosts of buildings remarkable chiefly for gorgeous, extravagant pomp and splendour ; in this respect, indeed, there is no preceptible difference between the Catholic and the Protestant districts. This architecture is in fact one of the most speaking evidences of the political and social conditions of the day. It was a period when care and consideration for the general well-being, for that which affected the community at large, no longer prevailed, but only the egotistical self-seeking of the class favoured by outward position ; and in art also the general needs and great public ends were driven far into the background : luxury, personal comfort, and the caprices of the rich and distinguished classes were the leading factors and influences in the world of art. Although in many towns respect was paid to buildings intended for public use, especially to town halls, and many fine new ones were built, and old ones were often improved by handsome additions [1] or alterations, still as a rule the labours of art and the pomp of outward splendour were chiefly bestowed on those parts of the buildings destined for the use of the great ones of the earth, on ' golden saloons ' for the magnificent banquets and festivities which were regarded as one of the most important items of public life : as, for instance, in the town hall at Augsburg,

** [1] Bezold, *Baukunst*, p. 49 ff. See also p. 11 ff. concerning the wealthy burghers and the princes as promoters of the new art.

built in 1615 by Elias Holl,[1] the four 'Princes' rooms' intended for festivities of this sort, and the saloon one hundred feet long, and fifty feet broad, which are among the most richly furnished public halls. The last of these is resplendent with gold and colour, and abounds altogether in a profusion of fantastic baroque ornamentation.[2] Although the decline of economic prosperity in the towns was glaringly obvious, building

** [1] Elias Holl is generally included under the Renaissances architects. Buff, however (*Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit*, Bamberg, 1893), places him more correctly among the first masters of the baroque style, 'not because he most often made use of architectural forms, which, like the ascending spiral lines on many of his gables, belong actually to the baroque, but because his most important buildings, with their façades aiming chiefly at strong effects, belong rather, in essence and character, to this later style. Even in the town hall, whose exterior is of decidedly simple, not to say bare, construction, and whose façades show no sharply projecting devices, it is easy to see that the master was not so much concerned to construct a beautiful harmonious architectural monument as to produce a striking and powerful effect by the massive bulk of the building. It is the architectural influence of the baroque, not that of the Renaissance!'

[2] See Lübke, *Renaissance in Deutschland*, i. 424–428. ** See A. Buff, 'Der Bau des Augsburger Rathhauses mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf die decorative Anstaltung des Innern' in the *Zeitschr. des histor. Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, xiv. 221–301.—Elias Holl, when he built his town hall at Augsburg, may be said to have transformed the whole town. He removed the familiar pointed spires from all the Gothic towers, and replaced them by round Italian caps, so that in the whole town there was not left a single pyramidal tower. Within a few decades prisons and churches, palaces and fortress towers, were so thoroughly remodelled in the Renaissance style that the whole town appears uniform down to the present day. 'As the poetry of the people gave way before the poetry of art, so did the old Augsburg shrink into the background before the new one.' The chronicle tells of a butcher who put the whole council of the imperial city to shame by his patriotic and historic sense. When, namely, the old council-house was pulled down, this butcher saved the artistic Gothic wainscotting of the saloon by asking that it should be given to him (Riehl, *Kulturstudien*, pp. 289, 302). The eighteenth century was by no means the first epoch deserving the reproach of Riehl (p. 313): 'Contempt for the monuments of one's native town is the surest sign of the decay of the old burgher spirit.'

and adding to buildings still went on with extravagant splendour. Thus, for instance, in the Bremen council-house, erected in 1612, all the surfaces were covered with sculpture: antique gods and goddesses, wonderful sea-creatures, columns disposed in all sorts of ways, statues of Mercury, and other ornamental figures of baroque description, among which indecent scenes were not wanting. A spiral staircase was turned into an agglomeration of carved ornaments and figures.[1] In the construction, also, of dwelling-houses for distinguished personages, external splendour 'after the antique-Italian style' developed more and more in proportion as concern for the common well-being decreased. The building which gained the widest renown, and was most stared at by travellers as a marvel of the town, was the Pellerhaus at Nuremberg,[2] a gorgeous structure of the *Zwitter* style, executed in extravagant Italian fashion, without any understanding of the principles of the antique which it purports to imitate, and dominated by caprice and fancifulness.[3]

[1] Lübke, ii. 285, admires the devices, but adds: 'It is the music of the first stage (?) of the baroque at its loudest *fortissimo*.' ** See, now, also G. Pauli, *Die Renaissance Bremens im Zusammenhange mit der Renaissance Norddeutschlands* (Leipzig Dissert. 1891), p. 99 ff., and Pauli, *Das Rathhaus zu Bremen*, Berlin, 1898.

[2] See what Erstinger says about it in his *Raisbuch*, p. 264.

[3] See v. Rettberg, *Nürnberger Briefe*, pp. 85–86; Förster, iii. 12; Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler*, i. 284–285. 'It is most interesting,' writes J. Wassler, in v. Lützow, *Zeitschr.* xiv. 328, 'to follow the process of adaptation of antique forms in the German Renaissance of the sixteenth century. Everywhere there is a craving to build in "antique" fashion; but only too often the naïve results suggest to the mind a savage who has become possessed of a coat and puts it on upside down. Two capitals, one over the other, or one capital at the upper end and the other at the foot of the pillar, and suchlike irregularities show how little our industrious forefathers entered into the spirit of the antique. The same truth is evidenced by the fact that at the beginning of the seventeenth century,

'These extravagantly costly buildings,' writes a contemporary, 'of which there is such an excess in German lands, are erected by princely commands;' 'and they give rise to many strange reflections, and people say, most of them are not only of no use to the people, but they swallow up industry, labour, goods and chattels in making costly castles and pleasure-houses. The people are, as it were, mad with rage at all these buildings, but their complaints about them bring no redress.'[1] In a like strain Aegidius Albertinus wrote in 1616: 'We observe that it is not enough for the princes and lords to build grand palaces in the towns, but in deserts also and waste places they must needs erect pleasure-houses and fortresses, even though they should never set eyes on them. Likewise they build magnificent houses and dwelling-places of such enormous size that they are like unto deserts, and for this purpose they take possession of meadows, acres and fields which belong to others.' These and other encroachments Albertinus reckoned among 'the signs of an inhuman, tyrannical spirit,' which, 'to say the least, had nothing to do with the mercy, kindness and pity of Christ who said, "I have compassion on the people."'[2]

In the first half of the century one of the most 'inveterate builders' among the great lords was Cardinal

at Nuremberg, and quite lately, Gothic dimensions were mixed up with antique forms, as is seen in the Pellerhaus of 1605, and other buildings.' In a house in Brunswick one sees, among all sorts of mediæval characteristics, the elements of the Renaissance in dolphins, candelabras, cupids, pagan deities and heroes, as well as genre scenes, of ludicrous or disgusting nature.' 'It is a veritable conglomeration of fantasies' (Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 404–405).

[1] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. B².

[2] *Lucifers Königreich*, pp. 74, 75–76.

Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence, 'a generous and magnificent lord,' who kept up great court state with immense expenditure, and who also consequently had a pile of debts.' In his residence, Halle, where he introduced the 'Renaissance' regardless of the complaints of the clergy and the people, he demolished churches, chapels, convents and hospitals, fine buildings, in perfect repair, solely in order to supply himself with building materials for a new cathedral church [1] and other buildings. To his favourite Hans von

** [1] This church was consecrated in 1523. Grünewald and Cranach were commissioned to carry out its pictorial decoration. It was also to be the treasure-house in which to stow away in costly shrines the quantities of relics which Albert, according to the custom of the time, eagerly 'collected; concerning this so-called treasure-house,' or, more correctly, sanctuary, the so-called *Heiligtumsbuch* of 1520, with its quantities of woodcuts, and the codex *de luxe* of the Aschaffenburg library, famous for its large number of miniatures, are excellent guides. According to G. v. Terey (*Albrecht v. B. und das Hallische Heiligtumsbuch von* 1520, Strassburg, 1858; cf. Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten und Kunstwerke*, p. 7 [Frankfort, 1886], plates 484–485; and *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 61), this illustrated catalogue was compiled between 1521 and 1526. Three hundred and fifty-three relics were described in it, but only 350 were copied. The miniatures are by different artists, whose style throughout is akin to Cranach's. Nine of these were missing till a short time ago; they had been cut out. In 1896 the prelate, F. Schneider, succeeded in finding six of these missing leaves and recovering them for Aschaffenburg. S. Schneider, in vol. i. of the *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch*, Berlin, 1897; cf. also *Mainzer Journal*, 1897, No. 295: 'Vom Kirchenschatz des Kardinal-Erzbischofs Albrecht von Mainz;' and especially P. Redlich, *Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg und das neue Stift zu Halle, 1520–1541*, Chap. IV. *Das Heiligtum. Eine kirchen- und kunst-geschichtliche Studie.* Diss. Leipzig, 1899. In Aschaffenburg is preserved also the large missal which Albert v. B. had executed by Nik. Glockendon, under the direction of Dürer. Respecting Albert's prayer-books, see *Zeitschrift f. christl. Kunst*, xi. 149 ff. See also, in the same place, ii. 305 ff., about a pax belonging to the cardinal. This prelate's episcopal staff is now in the National Museum at Stockholm (see *Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst*, xi. 109 ff.). About a portrait of Albert, see *Allg. Ztg.* 1900, Beil. No. 94. See also F. Schneider, *Die Brandenburgische Domstiftskurie zu Mainz*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1899.

Schönitz he made a present of several chapels standing near the market-place, so that he might use the stones for building fine houses. Notorious among the people was the 'house of the cool fountain,' the upper story of which consisted of luxuriously furnished apartments which this unholy prince of the Church used for secret intercourse with a mistress. What he built on to the cathedral was more of a secular than an ecclesiastical character; two towers which he caused to be added to it were so badly built that they had to be removed. As the Moritzburg was not sufficient for his magnificent court, a new palace was erected; for 'he wanted to be powerful, and felt no concern whatever when he was told that his debts were inordinate, and the honour of God and man violated under his rule.' [1] Well might it be regarded as a just judgment that Albert, when he 'lay in the anguish of death,' was forced to send word to the cathedral chapter that 'his Electoral Grace had scarcely anything to eat or drink.' [2]

Incomparably finer than anything that Albert had built is the Otto-Henry wing added on to the Heidelberg Castle (1556–1559) by the Elector Palatine Otto

[1] Full details are given in Schönermark, pp. 7 ff., 300, 387 ff. Cf. also Schönermark's article, 'Kardinal-Erzbischof Albrecht von Brandenburg als Kunstfreund,' in the *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1884, No. 260. The consequences to the Church of Albert's mania for building are well described by Woker, *Gesch. der norddeutschen Franziskaner-Missionen* (Freiburg, 1880), pp. 144–148. ** Cardinal Albert von Brandenburg erected in 1526, on the market-place at Mayence, in honour of Charles V.'s victory over Francis I. at Pavia, and of the triumphant end of the Peasant War, a fountain, which is important because it represents the oldest finished Renaissance building in the Rhine-lands. The design of the whole structure, as also of the different ornaments, goes back certainly as far as Peter Flötner; see F. Schneider in the *Mainzer Journal*, 1890, No. 276, and Lange, *Flötner*, 81 ff. There is a copy of it in Seemann, *Deutsche Renaissance*, Bd. 1, Abteil. vi. Tafel 13–15, and Fritsch, *Denkmäler deutscher Renaissance*, iii. 181.

[2] J. May, *Kurfürst Albrecht II.* (Munich, 1875), ii. 478.

Henry: it belongs to the best work which the new art method produced on German territory, but the people could not take much delight in the prince's splendid achievement seeing that the land was burdened with debts. 'When Otto Henry dies,' wrote the Countess Palatine Maria, wife of the later Elector Frederic III., to Duke Albert of Prussia, 'we shall find a sum of debts twice as big as the whole revenue of our principality.' [1]

It is highly significant that the Heidelberg Castle, superbly appointed as it was, had no chapel.

The magnificent homes of the princes, with their ornamental gardens, their hothouses, and their pleasure-houses, swallowed up enormous sums. Eating and drinking being reckoned among the most important occupations of life, immense banqueting-halls, decorated in the most costly style, were a chief requisite. The building of the Dresden Castle alone (1548-1554) consumed more than 100,000 Meissen florins—a very serious amount considering the then value of money. Double this sum was spent on the stables erected by Christian I. after 1586, and fitted up inside and outside with the utmost possible splendour. For its adornment 180 round shields, painted and gilded, were ordered in Modena, and an Italian founder cast forty-six princely busts with pediments and coats of arms. Carved seats inlaid with stones, marble sideboards, and other costly articles made the place into a sort of art gallery,[2] which

[1] Voigt, *Hofleben*, ii. 260. Concerning the growth of State debts under Otto Heinrich, and the alienation of hospital funds, see *Verhandl. des Histor. Vereins für die Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, xxiv. 288 ff. **For the Heidelberg Castle, cf. Bezold, p. 99 ff., and the work of Koch and Seitz, Darmstadt, 1891.

[2] See Lübke, *Renaiss.* ii. 333–334.

however only ministered to the luxurious gratification of the Elector in a thoroughly impoverished land. The subjects, said the court preacher Jenisch, in 1591, were so denuded of means that even life itself scarcely remained to them.[1] In 1580 a Torgau chronicle stated that 'many people had been driven by poverty to eating the husks in the brewhouse.'[2] But 'princely extravagance in costly buildings and all other wanton expenditure' recognised 'no poverty.' In 1611 the expenses of the Dresden Court amounted to more than half the revenues of all the districts of the Electorate put together.[3]

Among the districts reduced to the lowest extremity of insolvency was the Margraviate of Ansbach-Bayreuth; and yet the Margrave George Frederic embarked, at a cost of 237,014 florins, on the building of the new Plassenburg, which is notorious among architectural works of the 'new style' for the extravagance of its sculptural ornamentation. It cost more than the whole income of the land could refund in four years.[4] When the Margrave formed the plan of the building in 1557 the principality was in debt to three times the amount of its revenue;[5] when three years later the building operations were going on the debts of the little country had risen to 2,500,000 florins.[6]

At Stuttgart there were a number of very imposing princely buildings. Duke Christopher, after 1553, built

[1] *Annal. Annaeberg*, p. 45.

[2] Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, i. 792.

[3] Müller, *Forschungen*, i. 199–206, 209, 212.

[4] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 519–523.

[5] J. Voigt, 'Wilhelm von Grumbach,' in v. Raumer's *Histor. Taschenbuch*, vii. 163.

[6] Lang, *Gesch. des Fürstenthums Bayreuth*, iii. 19, 261; cf. iii. 295.

three new wings to the old castle; in the dining hall for the inferior officials and the court servants there were daily about 450 persons at meals; in the knights' hall the prince's table and the marshal's table were generally occupied by 166 higher officials and court servants; the large dancing hall, and twenty-two adjoining apartments were furnished with the most costly silk carpets. Near to the castle there was a large pleasure garden, a pleasure-house, and two large running courses, in the middle of which stood two pillars with statues of 'Dame Venus and her son Cupid, on which the cords were hung when the game of "running the ring" was played; which figures were a spur to the knights when they want to win the grace and favour of Dame Venus and the fair ladies.' In the year 1564 the magistrates represented to the Duke that the luxury of the court life, especially the extravagance in building, must positively be curtailed; the outlays during his reign, they told him, had increased to such an extent that neither the Duke himself, nor his impoverished, ruined subjects could any longer afford them.[1] This protest, however, did not prevent Christopher's successor, Duke Louis, from erecting a 'new pleasure-house,' a magnificent edifice 270 feet long by 120 feet wide, the building of which by George Beer lasted nine years, and was completed in 1593, and cost three tons of gold. The whole length of the

[1] Kugler, *Christoph Herzog zu Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1868–1872), ii. 584. ** Concerning Aberlin Tretsch, Duke Christoph von Württemberg's architect, see A. Klemm in Janitschek, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, ix. 28–58. Respecting the plaster handwork, 'with us in Germany a new handicraft,' Tretsch says it was 'begun in 1540 on the Asperg. The late Meister Cunrot Haug, a joiner, of Nürtingen, was master of the trade, who carved foliage and figures in plaster.'

upper story was one single apartment, in which, with royal state, festivities innumerable were held, and where also the first operas and ballet dancing took place.[1] Duke Louis, who succeeded Duke Frederic I., had even more extensive needs. The architect, Henry Schickhardt, was required to add to the castle the so-called 'new building,' built of beautiful polished blocks of freestone.[2] Frederic wanted to organise his court after the pattern of the brilliant courts of Paris and London which he had visited. When after long striving he had obtained the Order of the Garter, he celebrated every year the festival of this Order. In 1605 the festivities lasted fully eight days. The Duke always appeared on the occasion in the costly dress of the Order, adorned with more than 600 diamonds.[3] In all his buildings he had the Order introduced in plaster moulding or in painting.[4]

The land could no longer endure its terrible burden of debts. Already in 1599 the Provincial Estates had complained; within six years they had voted the

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 368–380; Spittler, *Gesch. von Württemberg*, p. 190; ** Klemm, *Württemb. Baumeister*, p. 141 ff.

** [2] Concerning Schickhardt, 'in very truth the life and soul of all building at that time in the whole of Württemberg;' see A. Klemm, *Württemb. Baumeister und Bildhauer*, pp. 143–144.

[3] Pfaff, *Gesch. von Wirtemberg*, 2ª, pp. 41–42.

[4] Lübke (*Bunte Blätter*, p. 138 ff.) sings the praises of the Dukes, and is enchanted with all their buildings. 'It is the common feature of the Renaissance, in contrast to the theocratic art of the Middle Ages, that it strives in the first place to idealise secular life.' 'It makes up for the want of purity, which at that time had everywhere disappeared from architecture, by freshness of invention and lifelike warmth of expression' [which, by the way, can no longer be seen in the principal buildings, the 'New Pleasure House,' and the 'New Building,' since these were long ago destroyed]. In the 'original remarkable style' we note 'the same wonderful effervescence, the same blending of classic Romanesque ideas with mediæval Germanic conception that we find in the greatest poetic genius of the Teutonic race—to wit, William Shakespeare'!

Duke sixteen tons of gold.[1] When in 1607 they first refused once more to take over a princely debt of 1,100,000 florins, they were reminded, as if to comfort them, that under the last two Dukes they had undertaken debts of over three millions. On the death of Frederic in 1608 another debt of nearly one and a half millions had been incurred.[2]

The Archduke Ferdinand II. of Tyrol was another vigorous princely builder. Solely for the buildings in his estates at Innsbruck and Ambras he spent 380,000 florins, and this in spite of the rotten condition of finances and the almost yearly recurring remonstrances of the treasurers, who declared that it was impossible for them to meet the demands in question, and that it was inglorious for princes to build 'on loan.'[3]

The finest prince's castle in the new style, and the one which was most lavishly decorated and contained the richest store of art treasures, was the 'New Residence' at Munich, built in the years 1600–1616, by Duke Maximilian I. It was built from the designs, and probably under the direction, of the Dutch painter and architect Peter de Witte, who changed his name to Pietro Candido. It cost nearly 1,200,000 florins, and was admired by contemporaries as a new wonder of the world. The Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, so

[1] Sattler, v. 230.

[2] Spittler, *Gesch. von Württemberg*, pp. 220–221 ; Pfaff, pp. 2[a], 34–39, 54–55.

[3] Hirn, i. 387–388. 'Even the unfavourable financial situation could not damp his ardour. Meanwhile all the available workmen of the capital and its immediate surroundings were so entirely monopolised by the court that for any other building operations workmen had to be brought from a distance.' In the main, however, it was only the court which built. In the country, as in all German principalities, building operations were very scarce. 'I find them for our period,' says Hirn (p. 391), 'only very little worthy of notice.'

report says, lamented later on that he could not remove the building on rollers to Stockholm. Munich, he said, was a golden saddle on a lean horse.[1]

For the embellishment and enrichment of princely castles and pleasure-houses, of council-houses and aristocratic dwelling-houses, for the erection of fine public fountains, statues, and busts, for the adornment of churches with pulpits and monuments to the dead, lively demands were made on sculpture, but the achievements in this respect are in general still more infelicitous than those in architecture.[2]

In the second and third decades of the sixteenth century a few exquisite works were executed in the spirit of the earlier native art. To these belongs pre-eminently the magnificent altar-screen, executed in 1521 by Hans Brüggemann of Husum for the Augustine canons in Bordesholm, of which Henry Ranzau wrote in 1593: 'Many persons who have travelled through the greater part of Germany declare that they have never seen a work equal to it.'[3]

[1] Rée, pp. 152–196; Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 26–30; ** K. Häutle, 'Die Residenz in München' (*Bayrische Bibliothek* von K. v. Reinhardstöttner und K. Trautmann), Bamberg, 1892. See also Gurlitt, p. 39. For the buildings of Albert V., see Riezler, iv. 482 ff.

[2] 'The famed epoch of the Haute Renaissance and the following late Renaissance,' writes Wilhelm Bode, 'is in Germany, as far as sculpture is concerned, the period of deepest decay—a gradual lapsing of all plastic activity into mere empty superficial forms of beauty, which finally led to the dying out of nearly all independent impulse. The fact, however, that these productions were nearly all the work of foreign sculptors is a striking testimony to the incapacity of native artists. Fifty years before Germany was made into a fighting-ground for ambition and for the wars of foreign rulers; she frankly recognises her weakness and dependence on foreign art, at any rate in the domain of great sculpture.' 'The great majority of native works are not even worthy of mention, still less of detailed criticism' (*Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, ii. 228–229).

[3] Fuller details on this subject in Münzenberger, p. 130 ff. It is a

In front of the Church of St. Victor, at Xanten, there are five 'Stations of the Cross,' the work of an unknown Master in the years 1525 to 1536, which may be reckoned among the best specimens of German stone sculpture; the group especially which represents the interment of Christ is a work of such pure loveliness, deep feeling, and noble conception as is not often achieved by German art.[1] Another very excellent piece of work both in composition and execution is the 'Mount of Olives,' at Offenburg, of the year 1524;[2] also the lectern of the Hildesheim Cathedral (1546),[3] the Sacrament-house in the town parish church in Weil Town in Würtemberg, a work by George Miler of Stuttgart, of 1611.[4]

striking fact that up to the middle of the seventeenth century altars with folding panels were constructed in Schleswig-Holstein (Münzenberger, p. 129). ** See also *Jahrbuch d. Leogesellschaft für d. J. 1890*, p. 102, and Grazer, *Kirchenschmuck*, 1899, No. 7, concerning the exquisite triptych of St. Martha, in the parish of St. Marein, near Knittelfeld, in Upper Styria. It was executed in 1524 for Provost Gregory Schürdinger, and is in all its parts consistently Gothic. In 1523 Schürdinger caused the erection of the Seckau Renaissance altar, which is described in the same place. 'These two altars, produced almost at one and the same time for the same person,' says Graus, 'though different in style, are nevertheless an unmistakable sign that the style of that period was not anything more (?) than a pure matter of taste and fashion.'

[1] Fuller details in Beissel, pp. 49–54. The Canon Berendonk, for whom these groups were erected, paid for the whole five, at the present value of money, about 13,000 marks (p. 54).

[2] Lübke, *Kunstwerke*, pp. 342–344.

** [3] See Kratz, *Der Dom zu Hildesheim*, p. 223 ff. Beissel, in *Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihre Reliquien in Deutschland während der zweiter Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B. 1892, p. 140), insists that, in spite of the thoroughly Christian meaning of the sculpture of this lectern, the mounting and the quantities of genii and mythological figures give the whole structure a somewhat secular appearance.

** [4] Klemm, *Württemb. Baumeister*, p. 175 ff.; Keppler, *Württemb. Kunstalterthum*, p. 194. The Berlin Art Industrial Museum, and the Museum of the Historical and Antiquarian Society in Münster possess a large number of works by an artist of whom, till quite recently, only his

The celebrated Würzburg sculptor, Dill Riemenschneider, got no more large commissions after the social revolution, in consequence of the ensuing poverty and distress; he was obliged to be content with small jobs up to his death in 1531.[1]

Artists of such importance as the great old masters, Peter Vischer, Veit Stoss, Adam Krafft, and Jörg Syrlin[2] arose no more. After the example of architects and painters, sculptors and carvers flocked out of Germany and the Netherlands to Italy;[3] when they returned home they wanted to imitate, or even to surpass, the masters they had admired abroad—yea, even Michael Angelo himself. All understanding and apprecia-

signature was known—namely, the Carthusian, Jodokus Vredis. This artist chose for his material the common but pliable clay, and this simple, worthless substance he transfigured by his art. For the particular form of his art he chose bas-relief, in the management of which he displayed great delicacy of feeling and artistic sense of proportion. His works—once upon a time only intended to supply the cells of monks with pictorial food for private devotion—are chiefly representations of the Holy Virgin and the child Jesus, sometimes in combination with St. Anna and other female saints. Larger compositions, such as that of 'The Trinity,' are rare; male saints are altogether wanting. It is noteworthy that the figures of Vredis, who became prior of the Carthusian monastery at Weddern, near Dülmen, in Westphalia, in 1531, and died on December 16, 1540, still exhibit the Gothic stamp. One of his chief characteristics is the wealth of flowers covering the background of his reliefs. The lilies, roses, carnations, and strawberry blossoms which appear in his sculpture, and are perfectly true to nature, are undoubtedly copied from the artist's convent garden. The bas-reliefs are painted, and show the delight in colour which characterised the period. Fuller details in the beautiful monograph of A. Wormstall, *Jodocus Vredis und das Karthäuserkloster zu Weddern*, Münster, 1896.

[1] See A. Weber, *Dill Riemenschneider* (2nd ed., Würzburg and Vienna, 1888), pp. 7–9, ** and Tönnies, *Leben und Werke des Tilmann Riemenschneider*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1900.

[2] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 209–214.

[3] Rivius, p. 143. ** On this writer's evidence Lange (*Flötner*, p. 165) justly lays weight against Kurzwelly (*Forschungen zu Georg Rencz* [1895], p. 54 ff.).

tion of Gothic beauty of form gradually disappeared ;[1] in place of truth there was merely 'taste ;' the want of creative imagination was to be supplied by 'reason and learning ;' technical skill often asserted itself brilliantly, but it could not breathe life into cold, barren works. It was only in statuary that anything excellent was still frequently achieved. After all native originality in conception, execution and composition had disappeared, then soon followed, after the middle of the century, a period of complete spiritual barrenness and untruth to nature, when art, devoid of all genuine feeling, sought to rouse emotion by artificial prettiness or by sensational movements and contortions of the figure exhibiting a merely mechanical life.

A bronze tablet of 1616 in the cathedral at Magdeburg, on which angels weeping and tearing their hair out are seen side by side with sprawling allegorical figures of virtues, is an excellent exemplification of all this mannerism.[2]

The early date at which the decline became apparent is shown by the famous monument over the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck: the older figures are distinguished by a simple beauty ; in most of the later ones the unbeautiful, affected costume appears in the foreground ; some of the statues executed after 1540 tend already to the theatrical style ; the figure of Count Rudolf IV. of Hapsburg is a veritable caricature.[3]

And yet it was these very funeral monuments which procured entrance for the new decorative art into Germany, and which stand out as its most brilliant achievements. From the artistic point of view, how-

[1] See Von Zahn, *Dürers Verhältniss*, pp. 21–22.
[2] Lübke, *Plastik*, ii. 873. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 770–772.

ever, the innumerable monuments produced by order of ostentatious lords, greedy for self-glorification, are but poor performances compared with the grandiose sepulchral monuments of earlier German art. The whole lot of them put together do not possess the artistic merit of that single one of Peter Vischer, the sepulchre of Archbishop Ernest in the cathedral at Magdeburg, a wonderful specimen throughout of rich Gothic work. Admirable specimens of Vischer foundries exist also in the sepulchres of the Electors Frederic and John of Saxony in the castle church at Wittenberg.[1] But the suddenness with which deterioration set in, in this most important German foundry, is seen from the sepulchre executed in 1544 by Hans Vischer in memory of the defunct Bishop Sigmund of Lindenau; this monument is constructed in a superficial manner and in a style derived from conventional Italian models; the dead bishop is kneeling, and spreading out short, fat hands, as if in admiration, before a small 'over-elegant crucifix.'[2] The foundry, formerly besieged by commissions, came down to such a low ebb that Hans Vischer was forced in 1549 to beg permission of the Nuremberg Council to emigrate to Eichstädt in order to find work there.[3]

In the latter half of the century and afterwards it became necessary, for want of any German masters, to get all art work done either by Dutch artists educated in Italy or by Italians who were brought into Germany

[1] See Lübke, *Bunte Blätter*, pp. 114, 389–391. ** Concerning Frederick the Wise's artistic sense, see Gurlitt, *Die Kunst unter Friedrich den Weisen. Archival. Forschungen* ii., Dresden, 1897.

[2] So says Lübke, *Plastik*, ii. 766. The sepulchre also of a bishop of Merseburg, executed in 1550, shows traces of Italian influence in 'the *elegant* treatment and movement of the body of the Crucified' (*ibid.* ii. 769).

[3] Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, i. 244–245.

at great expense. Thus, for instance, the Elector Augustus of Saxony had the sumptuous tombstone of his brother Moritz, in the cathedral of Freiberg, executed after the designs of two 'Italian musicians and painters.' The monument also presented jointly to this same prince by the Saxon princes was the work of Italians, the architectural part being executed by Giovanni Maria Nosseni of Lugano, who since 1575 had held the post of sculptor and painter to the Elector, and the copper work by the Venetian Pietro Boselli.[1] But by far the greater number of artists who worked in Germany came from the Netherlands, especially from Holland. While in earlier times Dutch artists had worked by preference in North Germany, they now came into the South also; as, for instance, Adrian de Vries, who came to Augsburg, Peter de Witte (Candid) to Munich, Alexander Colin to Innsbruck.[2]

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 317.

[2] ** See *Gesch. d. deutsch. Kunst*, Bode, *Plastik*, p. 232. Alexander Colin (1562–1612) was, up to 1889, known almost only by his sculptural work for the Otto Heinrich building at Heidelberg, and the wonderful basreliefs on the monument of Maximilian at Innsbruck. It is to the indefatigable compiler of Tyrolese art history, David v. Schönherr, that the public owes a succinct account of the life and exuberant activity of a man whose personality was as admirable as his art: 'Alexander Colin und seine Werke,' in vol. ii. of the *Mittheilungen zur Gesch. des Heidelberger Schlosses*, published by the Heidelberger Schlossverein (reprinted in Schönherr's Collected Writings, i. 507–589). This volume contains exhaustive descriptions of all the works of this indefatigable master, especially of the splendid sepulchral monuments executed by him for Ferdinand I. and his wife, Queen Anna, and for the Emperor Maximilian II., in the cathedral at Prague, for the bronzefounder Gregory Löffler (in the museum at Innsbruck), for Philippina Welser and Archduke Ferdinand (in the chapel of the court church at Innsbruck), for Johann Nas (in the above court church), and so forth, and of his works in wood, stucco, and clay. Colin is a most remarkable personage. With all his ardent study of the antique, he did not sacrifice his Germanic art, and he was also distin-

Orders amounting to immense sums were even sent out to Italy for the execution of commemorative monuments. Thus, for instance, at Lieberose in 1594, an epitaph was put up for Joachim von der Schulenburg, which had been brought from Venice and which cost from 10,000 to 20,000 thalers.[1] German merchants carried on a profitable trade in alabaster epitaphs carved or moulded for Protestant churches; they bought these in large quantities in the Netherlands in order to sell them in Germany. Epitaphs of this sort, after the manner of Francis Floris at Antwerp, are found in Berlin, Elbing, Königsberg, and elsewhere.[2] All Flemish sculpture, however, was on a low level; with but few exceptions it was only a soulless imitation of Italian forms.[3]

To what depths art and its quickening spirit had fallen, as compared with earlier times, is shown also by the dead-aliveness of so many of the episcopal grave monuments which one frequently meets with in different cathedrals: they show little trace of pious conception, or spiritual dignity; all is mere external show and decorative parade.[4] There were also afloat all manner of

guished by deep and fervent religiousness. In a critique of the work of Schönherr, H. Semper (*Zarnckes Litt. Zentralblatt*, 1900, p. 1295) rightly describes him as being, next to Peter Candid, the most important of his numerous countrymen then working as artists in Germany and Austria.

[1] Bergau, *Brandenburger Inventar*, pp. 494–495.

[2] Kugler, *Museum*, iii. 59, 60.

[3] 'We must not expect to find in the Netherlands any signs of that after-blossoming of the sculptural art which occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; for whereas in those days sculpture everywhere connected itself with painting as the dominant art, in the Netherlands, where painting stood in sharp antagonism to all plastic tendencies, sculpture was necessarily at a low ebb' (Schnaase, *Niederländische Briefe*, p. 219). Cf. Ebe, ii. 269; Suhsland, *Aphorismen über bildende Kunst*, p. 81.

[4] Lübke, *Plastik*, pp. 875–876. ** A number of really fine tombstones

new artistic conceits which passed for 'soul-stirring conceptions.' On a sepulchre made of sandstone, which was executed in 1558 by the Halberstadt Administrator, Frederic of Brandenburg, Adam and Eve are represented standing by a pillar with the serpent coiled round them, and Death holding them by a chain. On the left side the devil is playing on a mandolin, and he appears again in the middle eagerly writing out a list of sins; over all this is the portrait of Frederick in life-size. On the other side stands a figure of Mercy, who is tearing up the list of sins, and Christ with the victor's banner, who has fastened Death and the devil to a chain, and is leading them away; the devil is also

were executed by Loy Hering, who gained for Eichstätt sculpture a prominent place in Germany for the space of nearly half a century. See the valuable treatise of Schlecht, *Zur Kunstgeschichte von Eichstätt* (Eichstätt, 1898), p. 101. Here, too, are fuller details about the beautiful sepulchre of the Prince Bishop of Eichstätt, Johann Konrad von Gemminger (famous as a patron of art and a collector of curios), which his successor, Johann Christoph v. Westersteller, had placed in the cathedral of Eichstätt. 'Grand and impressive looms the figure of the bishop here interred. He rests on his coffin, not, however, stretched out stiffly in death, but in a semi-recumbent attitude, his fine intellectual head supported on his left hand, his glance fixed meditatively and prayerfully on the crucifix, which he holds firmly in his right hand. What a solemn sermon on the perishableness of earth and on the mournfulness of things human, and yet also what holy, heart-uplifting consolation in the religion of the Cross! The lines of the body combine grace with dignity. With fine instinct the artist has rejected the heavy episcopal robes of State, and retained only the flowing gown and the clinging dalmatic, making up for his omission, however, by placing on the podium on which the coffin rests two mourning angels, one on each side of the coffin, holding the mitre and the staff. Behind this group there is built up against the wall a plain architectural structure consisting of Ionic pillars, a straight cornice and open pediment, of which the space is entirely dominated by elegantly conventional twistings of the arms of the bishop and the See, while eight coats of arms of his ancestors adorn the architrave and pilasters. Statues, coats of arms, and all the decorative details are executed in fine cast bronze ore, the sarcophagus and the background in dark brown marble.' Because there is much here to remind one of Peter

secured in stocks.[1] Other eccentric productions, admirably indicative of the spirit of the new art, were occasionally placed in cemeteries. In the most artistic quarter of the much-admired cemetery of Halle-on-the-Saale, the Christians who visited the graves of their relatives had their eyes delighted with visions of half-length figures of nude, buxom women, surrounded by dancing children, and ending in scroll-work with leaves, fruits, and masks.[2]

Besides these gorgeous sepulchral monuments, the luxury of the age also showed itself in the erection of magnificent fountains. One of the best specimens of technical finish in this line was the fountain executed in 1618 by Hans Krumper of Weilheim for the court-yard of the Residence at Munich. For the town of Nuremberg, Benedict Wurzelbauer cast, in 1589, the fountain in front of the Lorenzkirche; the statue of

Candid and his mausoleum for Louis of Bavaria in the Liebfrau church at Munich, Schlecht supposes that P. Candid must also have executed this fine work. In my opinion this supposition is undoubtedly right.

[1] Fiorillo, ii. 159.

[2] 'It is the irrepressible joy in life,' says Schönermark (p. 428), 'which the master in his decorative art preaches here, here in the midst of the graves. He is, if one may dare to say so, a reincarnated Hellene full of the humanity of Christ, but free from the Christianity of men.' Lübke (*Renaissance*, ii. 360) sees in this cemetery a 'proof of the fine taste of the town in monumental art and also of a particularly fervent religious life. He is of opinion that all the pilasters and spandrels are 'decorated with ornaments of the best Renaissance work,' and, furthermore, that they exhibit 'great unity of design' and 'wonderful inventive power.' Schönermark (pp. 424–425) damps this enthusiasm by discovering, among other faults, 'shadowy, phantomlike meagreness and mannerism.' On the western side 'the principal motive is borrowed from the tinsmith's technique and copied in stone.' Screws, rivets and nails are all imitations, 'and in between these sham articles are drawn cords and hangings of flowers, fruit, and drapings. Figures, masks, and monsters, &c., are also mixed up with the intricate network of forms.' On the whole, the decoration here, however great its variety, can lay claim to no merit beyond that of technical invention and execution.

Justice surrounded by six other virtues, and by boys performing music; design and execution correspond to the prevailing affected taste of the day,[1] and challenge comparison with the 'beautiful fountain' in the neighbourhood of the Frauenkirche, which was executed in the golden period of Gothic art by the simple burgher stonemason 'Heinrich der Parlier,' who had not yet been inoculated 'with learning and the antique Italian manner.'[2] Compared with this true work of art, the fountain which, with the full approval of the commissioner, Wurzelbauer set up in Prague in 1600, is soulless and tasteless: it is a life-sized figure of Venus, from whose breasts streams of water are pouring; at her feet Cupid and dolphins and other water-spouting sea animals are playing.[3] Italian models were followed in the execution of these 'eminently artistic' works. Nothing made so deep an impression on the Württemberg architect, Henry Schickhardt, during his journey in Italy, as the fountains and waterworks. He delighted in describing them and copying them; of the great fountain at Bologna he drew four copies; it is described as follows: 'the upper part consists of a woman's figure, with fish for feet; the woman sits on dolphins, and gives to each of them out of each of her breasts very fine streams of water like threads; likewise the

[1] Waagen, *Kunst u. Künstler*, i. 251.

[2] See Sighart, pp. 394–395. This fountain forms a tower in three stories, and contains statues of the seven Electors, and of many heroes of pagan, Jewish, and Christian history, all of the most exquisite, ideal character, and yet showing perfect truth to nature and spirited execution. We recognise in them the powerful influence which ecclesiastical architecture exercised at that time on secular buildings destined for public use.

[3] Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 119. This fountain was destroyed by the Calvinists in 1620.

dolphins, out of their nostrils, spout two pure sprays of water.' [1] 'It is no longer allowed,' says a contemporary, 'to set up Christian and German figures on the public works so that everybody in the streets may see them; everything must be pagan and mythological, and we must learn, forsooth, to know the heathen gods and goddesses better than the saints and great heroes of Christian and German history.' [2] Augsburg erected many splendid fountains: the Augustus fountain, cast by the Netherlander Hubert Gerhard, and regarded as a marvel of art; [3] the Mercury and Hercules fountain of the Netherlander Adrian de Vries; [4] and the Neptune fountain. A colossal group of Mars and Venus, which Hubert Gerhard executed in conjunction with the Italian Carlo Polaggio (1584–1590) for Count John Fugger, is a gorgeous specimen of artificiality and distortion.[5]

[1] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 360.

[2] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. B. 2[b].

[3] Ayrer, i. 521–522.

** [4] A. de Vries, a faithful pupil of Gian Bologna, was also for a long time in the service of the Emperor Rudolph II. (see C. Buchwald, *Adrian de Vries* [with eight plates], Leipzig, 1899; *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, new series, p. 25). He belongs to the number of those Netherlanders schooled in Italy, who, more even than actual Italians, brought into Germany at the end of the sixteenth century an Italianised and pre-eminently decorative style of sculpture. The most important representatives of this school are Alexander Colin (see above, p. 141, n. 2) and Peter Candid (see above, p. 141).

[5] Waagen (*Kunst und Künstler*, ii. 74–75) says it is curious to observe how Lübke, generally overflowing with enthusiasm for 'the golden epoch of German Renaissance,' expresses himself in his quieter moments. 'The antique,' he says, 'for those great masters who sought to grasp and emulate it with all the ardour and seriousness of their being, was, indeed, a fresh fountain from which art could drink new life. But as it was necessary to adapt the antique conceptions to Christian material, discord and schism soon became apparent, and the Christian subject-matter was the first to suffer detriment. As soon, however, as outward form came to be more highly valued and studied than the inward idea, art of

As in the time of decadent Roman taste, statues, large and small, sculptured only with a view to decoration, were often set up in houses and villas, and above all in

necessity became hollow and soulless, because it could only assert itself at the expense of the subject. This explains the beginning of mannerism. And if even the great masters fell a prey to this demon, how could it be otherwise than fatal for all the lesser artists, the mere copyists and imitators? But it was in allegory that the spirit of the age asserted itself most completely, and this fashion lured art into a region where, loosened from the general consciousness, and divorced from living interchange with the national mind, it very soon fell inevitably into empty jejuneness and subjective subtlety.' Dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, there were still a number of gifted masters. 'If we ask, however, about the spiritual substance, the imperishable worth of their achievements, the great mass of productions dwindles woefully down, and the individualities of most of the artists disappear in the typical mannerism which is common to them all, for all national independence in art has long since ceased to exist. Italian art, changed into dead formality, rules all lands with the tyranny of a fashion to which all bow down. Strange fate of that modern subjectivity which Michael Angelo was the first to proclaim in his works as the principal law of art! It dared, as time went on, to break down the wholesome restraints which are imposed on all artistic creativeness, and to leave the individual standing free and unfettered face to face with his material and his task, but all truly original individual achievement disappeared with the restraints. For in the absence of true laws and rules of art, artists depended more and more on the false precepts of mannerism. Freedom of individual genius flourishes only within the boundaries of law; it dries up under the rule of anarchy. All the specimens of plastic art of this period, in all countries, have a family likeness, as the statues of the thirteenth century had; but with this difference—that in the case of the latter there was genuine character at the bottom of the resemblance, whereas in the former, as a rule, there was merely the affectation of similarity. But whence came this affectation? It sprang essentially from the fact that art was no longer in communion with the national mind.' 'Intellectual interests were now confined to the "higher circles of society." Torn away from the soil of national consciousness, this intellectual life was bound to dry up—art most of all, for art needs the quickening streams of communal life. It now became exclusive, courtly; it ministered only to the glorification of power. Thence came dearth of ideas and superfluity of phrases; thence coldness and external playing with forms devoid of soul. And wherever it was obliged to exhibit enthusiasm at command, it excited itself without inward warmth, became theatrical, affected, artificial' (Lübke, *Gesch. der Plastik*, ii. 795, 857, 858).

those pleasure gardens which were laid out with such gusto. The Roman edile Scaurus once used 3,500 statues for the decoration of a theatre which he built;[1] Archduke Ferdinand II. of Tyrol did not require so large a number for his 'Wurzgarten,' but he had 134 'large gods,' 250 '*Diernlein*' (female figures), little figures, and twenty-four large statues.[2]

The private apartments also of distinguished persons and princes were 'often filled with nude heathen sculpture;' 'there were even seen in the apartments of princesses—a thing unheard of before—many such abominable nude figures.[3] For the private apartment of an Electress of Saxony the sculptor Zacharias Hegewald was commissioned to execute a group consisting of 'a Venus and two Cupids sitting by the Venus, a Ceres and two Bacchus children.' To judge from the remuneration he received, the Electress cannot have set much store by the artistic value of the decorative work; Hegewald was paid for each Cupid and for each child Bacchus only six thalers.[4]

Very considerably smaller was the remuneration bestowed on the court painters of the princes for all the 'elegant counterfeits' they had to produce at command of their illustrious employers, and for all sorts of eccentric and utterly tasteless commissions, that had to be executed in the most superlative and withal the quickest and cheapest manner possible to the art of painting.[5]

[1] Overbeck, *Gesch. der griechischen Plastik*, ii. 284, where there are other proofs that it is impossible to 'form a large enough estimate' of the quantities of statues there used in Rome for decoration.

[2] Hirn, i. 380. [3] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. B. 2ᵇ.

[4] Müller, *Forschungen*, i. 158. [5] See below, p. 162.

CHAPTER VII

SECTION IV.—PAINTING—COURT PAINTERS TO PRINCES

In proportion as architecture underwent deterioration, losing its independence as the free domain of stone-masonry, and being compelled to adapt itself more or less to the whims and caprices of the individuals by whose orders buildings were erected,[1] so also did the

[1] 'Early German art had sprung up like a vigorous, healthy tree, giving promise of rarest blossom and fruit; but its growth had been checked by two causes—the change in religious opinions which had deprived art of its chief field of work, and the influence of foreign art methods.' 'Chief amongst the latter was the brilliant colouring of the Venetian painters which commanded general admiration. But the Florentine school had also its devotees who sought to master its style and methods. German artists found employment with Italian painters, to whom they rendered good service as assistants. When these German artists returned home, they introduced in their country the foreign methods they had learnt. The demand for artistic work of a high order was by no means large, and nobody seems to have urged or encouraged the German artists to go on painting in the German manner instead of adopting foreign fashions; and thus the indifference of the patrons of art and the want of national spirit in the artists combined to bring the native art of the Fatherland to its grave' (Rathgeber, *Gallerie*, pp. 263–264). 'In the second half of the sixteenth century the plastic arts degenerated into mere bombast and affectation. Excellent, often indeed masterly, as was the technique, it could not conceal absence of soul, feeling, and character. The same fate befell painting as had befallen architecture. National and even personal treasures of art were cast aside for the sake of showy foreign trash. Tasteless allegories and pagan mythological fables became the order of the day. Art revelled in paganism and sensuousness. The few genuinely artistic workers who were left could not stem or overpower the affectation and degeneracy which characterised the majority of artists, and which reached its climax in Bartholomew Spranger (born 1546)' (Lotz, *Statistik*, i. 23).

sister art of painting decline from the height from which, in co-operation with architecture, it had addressed itself to the nation at large and inspired it with enthusiasm for the Christian ideal. As it had become a well-nigh universal rule to follow Italian taste, there were no longer any actual German schools of any importance and individuality. In the Protestant districts ecclesiastical art had no status whatever; in places that had remained Catholic orders were still issued for Church pictures, but until the complete establishment of the Catholic Restoration the demand for sacred art was very small compared to what it had formerly been. In the towns the painters earned their living chiefly by taking portraits; or else they kept up a precarious existence by making designs for goldsmiths and other crafts, by painting coats of arms, and by giving instruction in drawing. The separation of art from handicraft had an altogether pernicious effect on art life in general.[1]

There is only a small number of artists of this period worthy of mention.

Up to shortly after the middle of the sixteenth

[1] 'It was altogether in accord with the views of art, current in Germany also since the sixteenth century, that the artists considered actual industrial work with apprentices and journeymen as beneath their dignity. We learn, nevertheless, by closer study of the history of the painters of former centuries, that so long as the old guild-laws were universally observed, the majority of artists were able to earn a sufficient livelihood; whereas after the separation of art from handicraft the lives of artists, almost without exception, were full of trouble, disappointment, and anxiety. Individual cases contradicting this general experience are only exceptions to the rule.' 'The industrial work, in which a master who employed journeymen and apprentices, had no need to take actual part, guaranteed fixed remuneration, and also association with a corporation which provided for its members and afforded opportunity for exercise, in the humbler spheres of art, of talents possibly not adequate to great achievements' (A. Schultz, in v. Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, ii. 358–359).

century the painters Anton von Worms [1] and Bartholomew Bruyn figure as worthy representatives of the old Cologne school. The latter executed a whole series of important works, and was held in such respect by the Cologne burghers that in the years 1550 and 1553 he was elected a member of the council.[2]

To his best work belongs the high altar in the collegiate church of Xanten, completed in 1534, with which the canons were so well pleased that of their own accord they added 100 extra florins to the sum of 500 gold florins agreed upon as remuneration.[3]

The Suabian master, Martin Schaffner, who worked as painter in Ulm, also executed in the years 1520–1524 several excellent pieces of work, amongst which a representation of the 'Child Jesus in the Temple' and the 'Death of Mary' are specially distinguished by artistic merit; later on he fell under the influence of the school of Venice.[4]

[1] J. J. Merlo, *Anton Woensam von Worms, Maler und Xylograph zu Köln*, Leipzig, 1864, and *Nachträge*, 1884 (cf. Niessen, pp. 53–54).

[2] See J. J. Merlo, *Nachrichten*, p. 69 ff., and *Die Meister der Altkölnischen Malerschule*, p. 158 ff. Catalogue of the collection of his works preserved in Cologne in Niessen, pp. 54–56; of those in Munich in v. Reber, *Katalog*, pp. 15–19. ** See now the work of Firmenich-Richartz, *Barth. Bruyn*, Leipzig, 1891.

[3] Fuller details concerning the altar and its origin in Beissel, p. 12 ff. Side by side with Bruyn, other distinguished artists, two carvers and an art-smith, worked at this altar. The cost of production for the whole structure amounted, according to the present value of money, to about 50,000 marks. It is 'a last specimen of mediæval art and excellence.' 'The canons of Xanten gathered together the last German masters in order to plan the erection of a worthy monument to old customs and old religious faith.'

[4] V. Reber, *Catalogue*, pp. 45 6. See Graf Pückler-Limburg, 'Martin Schaffner' (*Studien z. deutschen Kunstgeschichte*), Strassburg, 1900. A large collection of 'exquisitely beautiful' miniature paintings, which were executed in the years 1530–1532 to illustrate a German translation of the New Testament, is described by Rathgeber, *Gallerie*, pp. 136–146.

On the whole it may be said that the decadence of art was already discernible in the immediate pupils and followers of Dürer and Holbein. Hans Burgmayr, one of the most thoughtful painters, retrogressed in his art in proportion as he yielded to Italian influence. In like manner the equally gifted Christopher Amberger lost all vigour and all depth of sentiment through unintelligent imitation; his pictures became superficial and affected. Hans Schäufelein also deteriorated visibly, and George Penz, who went to Italy for culture, came back a soulless mannerist.[1]

Adam Elzheimer of Frankfort was the only artist of importance who retained his individuality, but his works were not appreciated by his contemporaries, and he had to battle continually with distress and poverty.[2]

[1] See, concerning the above statement, Sighart, p. 600 ff.; Weise, *Dürer und sein Zeitalter*, p. 85; Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler*, ii. 67; Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 368–369. ** Concerning Schäufelein, see the monograph of U. Thieme, Leipzig, 1892, and *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xvi. 306 ff.; xix. 219 ff., 401 ff., 496 f.; xx. 477 f. For Christopher Amberger, see the Dissertation by E. Haasler, Heidelberg, 1894. Concerning the general development of art, an art historian, who is otherwise by no means in agreement with Janssen's views, F. Rieffel, remarks in a review of my biography of A. Reichensperger, 'It is becoming more and more plainly evident that the beginning of the sixteenth century was not the noonday, but the sunset, of German art. As for Gothic sculpture and painting our respect for it increases the more closely we become acquainted with it. . . . How rapid and how deep is the decline of Dürer's pupils when once they begin to ape Italian art methods!' In conclusion, Rieffel throws out the question whether it was not 'a blessing for Dürer's renown that he died early.' 'Wherever humanism lays its grip on him (Dürer) he becomes lamentably Italianate; only the great and glorious Matthias Grünewald remained entirely German' (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1900, No. 9, p. 1). *Ibid.* No. 18 (*Abendblatt*), Rieffel speaks concerning a publication about the painter, M. Schaffner, of the miserable after-effects which German art brought on itself by its intoxication through the 'southern wine' of the Italian Renaissance.

[2] M. Seibt, *A. Elzheimers Leben und Wirken*, Frankfort-on-the-Main,

Painting on a large and monumental scale, as far as anything of the kind still survived here and there, degenerated into mere caprice and bombast.

Glass-painting also, which in the fifteenth century reached its zenith,[1] and formed almost the pinnacle of pictorial achievement, fell from its height of glory after it had been driven out of the service of the Church, and had ceased to be humbly subordinate to architecture, with which before it had been so closely connected; when it embarked on an independent existence it lost itself in virtuosity, and extravagant tasteless ornamentation.[2] Here and there, nevertheless, works of great beauty were still produced; for instance, the splendid glass-windows in the Church of St. Gudule in Brussels, and the glass-paintings in the cloisters in the Swiss convents of Muri, Rathhausen and Wettingen, executed during the second half of the sixteenth century. The 'painter of the venerable House of God at Wettingen' addresses us in warm and pithy pictorial language from the sixty coloured window-panes, in which

1885; Bode, *Studien*, pp. 261–272, 310–311; Rathgeber, *Gallerie*, p. 263. German taste, completely ignoring the Italian Cinquecento, turned by preference to the later eclectics, and finally to the school of Caravaggio, the effective coarseness of which was specially seductive to the northern art students. The soulless virtuosity and faultless technique, which were the chief characteristics of Italian art at that period, exercised too strong a glamour on the superficial, easily pleased taste of the Germans, to leave any chance for the development of aught which should differ from the methods that had crept in from beyond the Alps (Reber, *Gesch. der neuern deutschen Kunst*, pp. 8–9). ** The sterling and industrious painter, Martinus Theophilus Polak, specimens of whose works are preserved in the churches of Riva, Trent, Brixen, and, above all, of Innsbruck, is deserving of notice. Cf. M. Bersohn, *M. Th. Polak, Ein Maler des* 17. *Jahrhunderts*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1891.

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 232–236.

[2] It was Holbein who first introduced the Renaissance methods into glass-painting (von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, i. 24; see pp. 28–29).

he strung together a collection of Biblical incidents and events from the history of the Fatherland.[1] Towards the end of the century the celebrated Swiss glass-painter, Christopher Maurer, executed a number of works in Nuremberg, notably four pictures from the parable of the Prodigal Son.[2] It is characteristic of the spirit of the age that on one occasion he introduced into a glass painting a likeness of himself crowned with a wreath of laurel, and facing an easel on which stood a Venus.[3]

On the whole it may be said that in this branch of art also the old religious art methods had given place to a mundane spirit, which showed itself markedly in the grouping of figures in painted windows; whereas formerly the members of the patron's family had occupied a humble position at the bottom of the window, they now formed the central group, and were surrounded with armorial shields and all the emblems of worldly dignity, while Scripture and secular stories alike were used to enhance the personal glory of these important individuals.[4] The art of painting on glass received a great impulse in the form of cabinet-painting, especially in Switzerland,[5] where between the

[1] Lübke, *Kunsthistor. Studien*, p. 404; *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, Jahrg. 2, Heft 6–8. The great cycle of window paintings in town halls is discussed by J. R. Rahn in the *Geschichtsfreund* (Einsiedeln, 1882), xxxvii. 196–267. ** See Oidtmann, 'Die Schweizer Glasmaler vom Ausgang des fünfzehnten bis zum Beginn des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts,' in the *Zeitschr. für christl. Kunst*, xii. 301 ff. See in the same place, 1899, pp. 55 ff., 67 ff., the remarks concerning Rhenish glass-paintings of the sixteenth century. Respecting glass-painting in Bavaria, where attention was chiefly bestowed on armorial bearings, see Sighart, p. 712.

[2] Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, xiv. 74–75.

[3] Andresen, iii. 228.

[4] Lübke, *Kunsthist. Studien*, p. 426.

[5] See M. A. Gessert, *Gesch. der Glasmalerei in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1839), p. 110 ff. 'As regards decorative style,' says Rahn (pp. 701–704), 'the cycles of the sixteenth century are far inferior to those of the fifteenth

years 1580–1600 no less than fifty-two cabinet-painters settled permanently: twenty-seven in Zurich, sixteen in Schaffhausen, and nine in Basle.[1] The more the 'antique-Italian learning' insinuated itself in the place of religious convictions, the more soulless did painting become in this country also. Painted windows were produced by rules of grammar and rhetoric,[2] and covered with unintelligible allegories; personified virtues of all sorts, in antiquated garments, took the place of patron saints or armorial bearings.[3]

As early as the middle of the sixteenth century complaints of faulty work began to be heard. When, in 1554, Paul Dax of Nuremberg sent in his window-panes for the council-house at Ensisheim, it was found that 'the greater number of them had not been smelted, but in many parts painted over with oil colours which would not bear exposure to weather.' Of the glass-paintings of the master Thomas Neidhart, the Innsbruck Chamber complained, in 1575, that 'the colouring was bad, and that they were not smelted all over.' It must, however, in fairness be said that the prices paid were not such as to command lasting work; Paul Dax, for instance, received no more than five florins apiece for each pane; and in Alsace, in order to keep out the foreign artists, glass-painters offered to work for

century.' ** See also H. Meyer, *Die Schweizerische Sitte der Fenster und Wappenschenkungen vom fünfzehnten bis sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Frauenfeld, 1884. Concerning the admirable glass-painter, Lorenz Link (mentioned at p. 259 ff. of the above work), who was born at Strassburg in 1582, see also v. Hefner-Alteneck, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 83.

[1] See the article by H. E. v. Berlepsch, in the *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1887, No. 14.

[2] See Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, i. 30–31.

[3] Concerning the allegories of Christopher Maurer, see Andresen, iii. 225–226.

two florins the pane.[1] In the course of the seventeenth century glass-painting came altogether to an end.[2]

Even before German painters had begun migrating to Italy, Dutch artists had already sought their models in this classic land. When first they crossed the Alps in search of art culture, art life in the Netherlands had not yet been disturbed by political or religious upheavals; the Van Eyck school was still in its glory, as is shown pre-eminently by the works of Quentin Massys (†1529), and its flourishing condition was maintained at Bruges at a still later period, when its chief pillars were Peter Claessens and his two sons, who executed many works worthy of the Van Eycks and of the German master Hans Memling.[3] Peter Purbus, from Gouda in Holland, also remained true to the old indigenous school. His 'Transfiguration of Christ' in the Church of

[1] Lübke, *Kunsthistor. Studien*, p. 460. Abel Stimmer executed paintings in the glass itself (Andresen, i. 62). In Brandenburg, also, armorial bearings and small pictures were painted on glass (Bergau, *Brandenburger Inventar*, p. 79).

[2] 'The disregard of the laws of style in this branch of art, and the loss of deep spiritual significance in composition, were accompanied by deterioration of technique. The washy, feeble painting of emblems, escutcheons, and ornaments, put together in single pieces, was plain proof of this, and pointed to the imminent death of the art' (Karl v. Rosen in the *Baltische Studien*, xvii. 182). See Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 231–232; Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 493; Abry, pp. 298–299. The glass-paintings in the cloisters of the Capuchin nuns in the Church of St. Anna-in-the-Fen, at Lucerne, executed after 1605, are also distinguished by much depth, splendour, and harmony of colouring: they represent scenes from the life of Christ and that of the Holy Virgin. Cf. J. Schneller in the *Geschichtsfreund* (Einsiedeln, 1860), xvi. 177–186.

[3] See the catalogue of thirteen paintings of the family of Claessen, in Michiels, iii. 352–363. Concerning one of these, the execution of a condemned person in the town hall at Bruges, Michiels says: 'On dirait que le génie de Memling a passé un moment dans l'âme du peintre et fait éclore dans son atelier, comme un souvenir des anciens jours, cette fleur merveilleuse.'

Our Lady at Gouda (of the year 1573) is quite worthy of comparison with the work of Memling.[1] Purbus, says the painter and artists' biographer, Karl van Mander, could not 'sufficiently gaze at and admire' Memling's pictures.[2] These artists, like the earlier ones, belonged all of them to the plain burgher class; filled with zealous ardour to work for the glory of God, they were wholly uncorrupted in their morals. Of Franz Purbus, a son of Peter, Mander says: he was 'so friendly and lovable in society, that he might be called friendliness itself; he was never known to be out of temper.'[3]

Several other Dutch painters of mark, such as Jan Schoreel, Jan Mabuse, Martin van Veen, did admirable work, so long as they worked in the spirit of the old native school;[4] as soon, however, as they began to regard the old methods of art as 'old-fashioned and obsolete,' and set about 'to find something newer and greater in Italy,' they became frostily virtuose, though at the same time they were still most highly praised by Karl van Mander, whose own drawings and paintings show signs of the deepest decadence.[5]

'Jan Schoreel,' wrote van Mander, 'was the very first who visited Italy, and brought back enlightenment to the Netherlands on the arts of drawing and

[1] Michiels, iii. 341–362, where there is also a catalogue of fifty paintings by this artist.

[2] Van Mander, Bl. 204[b]; *Das Lob des Künstlers*, p. 257[a].

[3] Van Mander, Bl. 257. ** See Rooses-Reber, *Gesch. der Malerschule Antwerpens* (Munich, 1881), p. 108.

[4] See v. Wurzbach, in v. Lützow's *Zeitschr.* xviii. 54–59; Michiels, iii. 64–65, 223–227, where several works of these artists, which they executed before going to Italy, are compared with their later ones. Concerning Schoreel, see also Bode, *Studien*, pp. 7–10.

[5] Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 286.

painting. Hence he was called 'the lantern-bearer and the pioneer of art in the Netherlands.'[1] Next to him Lambert Lombard, after his return from Italy, became a father of drawing and painting at Liège; he did away with the rough, coarse, barbarous methods in vogue, and introduced in their stead the beautiful antique style, for which he deserves no slight praise and gratitude.[2]

Jan Mabuse claims for himself the glory of having brought out of Italy into Flanders the right and true style in the representation of naked figures; the pinnacle of fame, however, was reached by Franz Floris in Antwerp, who became the 'Flemish Raphael;' none stands higher than he does.[3]

While all these artists were striving to appropriate Italian methods they lost the characteristics of earlier native art: its truth, and warmth of feeling, its quiet simplicity, its spontaneity, its genuine inspiration; no less also did they lose the old sense of harmonious colouring. Their religious paintings grew cold and meaningless, and nude mythological representations, which they produced in ever-increasing quantities, became repulsive, often even disgusting.[4]

[1] Van Mander, Bl. 234. [2] Van Mander, Bl. 220.

[3] See Abry, 154; De Canditto, pp. 67, 186, 285–286, 439 ff. For Franz Floris, see Schnaase, *Niederländ. Briefe*, pp. 250–252, Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 236.

[4] See Woltmann, *Aus Vier Jahrhunderten*, p. 31: 'Those Netherlanders who attempted to rival the choice beauty, the glorious freedom of a Leonardo, or a Raphael, became jejune, prosaic, and affected. The case was even more serious with the imitators of Michael Angelo: his Italian disciples had already lapsed into deterioration, but in the case of the Netherlanders the practice of copying the great Florentine was still more pernicious.' Vischer (iii. 739) says: 'Such men as Mabuse, Bernhard van Orley, Coxcie, Schoreel, Hemskerk, would have been no mean artists if they had kept to the severe style of painting, but in the school

Even with Lucas von Leyden the sacred had often sunk to the vulgar and common. Italian taste was a *fashion*, and it led to the distortion of the natural into monstrosity.[1] We find a significant indication of this whole tendency to exaggeration, sensationalism and ugliness in the wild jumble of human beings, angels, and fiendish monsters which Franz Floris painted in 1554 in his 'Fall of the Angels' (*Engelsturz*).[2] It was in accordance also with the inner spirit of this tendency that Cornelius Ketl ceased to use a brush and painted with his fingers only, using his left hand as a palette; from this he went on to painting with his left hand also, and when this kind of art-work met with approval and purchasers, he used alternately his right and left foot, and finally showed his dexterity by working in turn with both hands and feet at the same picture.[3]

The Dutch painters, debarred by Calvinism from connecting art with religion (the highest aim of art), turned their efforts to the lower sphere of everyday life, and produced new and out of the way results in the

of the Italians they became empty formalists; they discarded stern truth to nature and physiognomy because of its want of beauty, and they produced beauty without the warmth of life.' Camille Lemonnier of Brussels, in his *Chronique des Arts* (1877), p. 384, calls the Renaissance epoch 'a truly sinister page in the history of Flemish painting.' 'It may safely be asserted,' he says, 'that the journeyings to Italy threw Flemish art into a death agony, and brought it to the brink of the grave.' Max Rooses writes in the same strain in his *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool* (1879), p. 136: 'The followers of the Italian school lost their way in their pursuit of an unfamiliar and misunderstood ideal. It was no revival or rebirth that they brought to our art; they simply drove it to suicide' (see Riegel, *Beiträge*, i. 13–14). When, however, the Netherlands had become the prey of Italianism, the countries which had been, so to say, their tributaries in respect of art naturally fell also under the Italian influence, which in the sixteenth century conquered nearly the whole continent' (Reber, p. 640).

[1] Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler*, i. 174, 289. [2] Riegel, i. 23.

[3] Deschamps, pp. 199–202; Michiels, iv. 65–66.

department of still-life painting. In addition to this they worked at portrait painting, distinguishing themselves especially in their likenesses of rulers and members of guilds, without, however, attaining to the height which portrait painting had reached in Jan van Eyck.[1] These pictures, known as *Schützen- und Regentenbilder*, in which the members were either artistically grouped together, or represented sitting together at a banquet, became in Holland the most important branch of art. Nearly every town had its own special master whose business it was to produce these monuments of personal glorification.[2]

Far surpassing all his brother artists by his originality, his inexhaustible imagination, his astounding versatility, and his indefatigable energy, the giant Peter Paul Rubens became at the beginning of the seventeenth century—a time when in Germany proper all creative art faculty had died out—the founder of a new school. Young artists, eager for instruction, flocked from all directions to his studio at Antwerp: he was obliged, he said, in 1611, to turn away more than a hundred pupils on account of excessive numbers. Rubens included all branches of painting in the sphere of his activity: historical painting, portrait painting, interiors, landscapes, still-life, love scenes, drinking scenes, incidents of the chase. His dominating taste for the forcible and the rude, as well as for the horrible and the startling, makes him a living mirror of his age. Many of his religious pictures, for instance, the 'Eleva-

[1] See above, p. 25, note 1.

[2] Cf. Lübke, *Bunte Blätter*, pp. 179–210; Riegel, i. 118–112; Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 203. The admirable Dutch masters of a later date naturally do not come under discussion here.

tion of the Cross' (1610), and the 'Descent from the Cross' (1611) in the cathedral at Antwerp, exhibit fine dramatic composition, but only a few here and there have any religious import.[1]

In fulness and variety of conception scarcely any artist can compete with Rubens; the rapidity with which he executed even important works has never been equalled. His large picture 'The Adoration of the Three Kings,' now in the Louvre at Paris, was finished in thirteen days; the triptych of 'The Descent from

[1] When Rubens 'wants to give his subject a religious colouring,' 'he falls into a false pathos, an unnatural sadness, into vehement declamation and gesticulation, into contortion of heads and limbs, behind which there is no trace of genuine feeling. Take, for instance, in Vienna, the picture of the Magdalen wringing her hands and kicking away from her her casket of jewels. She is a disappointed, but not a penitent, sinner—or else she is merely acting a part! The Apostles in the Pinakothek at Munich have the exaggerated pose of stage saints. Compare also the pictures of the Assumption of the Virgin, that beautiful symbol of the soul's immortality, under the old art methods, with those by Rubens: the former are instinct with love and dignity; the latter, however often repeated, never anything more than immense celestial spectacles, in which the blessed saints ascend with impossible writhings and contortions through the clouds, and through an innumerable host of angels. Rubens reached the climax of this theatrical style in a picture of St. Catherine, in which, with a drawn sword in her left hand, her left foot planted on the wheel, her head swathed in a floating veil and thrown back defiantly, she takes her place among the saints, not only with a theatrical air, but also with that of a ballet-dancer!' (Förster, iii. 95–96). In a different way, again, the tendency of the age is seen in those pictures in which Rubens depicts the history of the French Queen, Maria de' Medici. In these we see the gods and demi-gods descending the 'antique' Olympus, reborn in Flemish bodies, in order to assist in the destiny of the Queen. Apollo, Minerva, Mercury, and the Graces take charge of her education; Hymen carries her train at the religious ceremony of marriage; Tritons and Nereids dance in wild ecstasies round the ship from which she steps out on to the soil of France (Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 478–479). Concerning P. P. Rubens and his religious paintings, see the excellent article—in my opinion a correct criticism—by Keppler in the *Hist.-pol. Bl.* 95, 286 ff. See also J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, Basel, 1898.

the Cross' in twenty-five days; for the first he received 1,300, for the second 2,500 florins.[1] He calculated each day's work at 100 florins, an enormous sum, compared with the miserable pittance paid to the artists working in Germany at the Imperial Court and at the courts of the princes.

John of Aachen, a firstrate master,[2] received, as court painter to Rudolf II., at first a monthly payment of only twenty-five florins, whereas a necromancer, the Englishman Kelley, appointed by the Emperor, was loaded with favours and bounties, and the Polish alchemist Michael Sendiwoj, a confidant of Rudolf, was so handsomely paid that he was able to buy himself a house and two large estates.[3] The Netherlander, Bartholomew Spranger († 1615), another court painter, received the same remuneration as John of Aachen, but in addition was raised by the Emperor to the rank of nobility. He was one of the most extreme mannerists of his day, a caricature of Michael Angelo, whom he presumed to imitate.[4] He was indefatigable in drawing and painting heathen gods and goddesses and every possible subject from the domain of mythology and ancient history.[5] On a triumphal arch for the old peasant-market at Vienna he represents the Emperors Maximilian II. and Rudolf II. side by side with Neptune and Pegasus.[6] One of his best works is the 'Last

[1] Lübke, *Kunstwerke*, p. 432.

[2] See van Mander, Bl. 289–291; Merlo, *Nachrichten* 1–14.

[3] Svatek, pp. 81, 241. ** After 1600 John of Aachen received a yearly income of 400 florins. ** See Ilg, *Kunstgeschtl. Charakterbilder*, p. 219.

[4] Rathgeber, p. 285. Michiels (iv. 25) says: 'Language is too poor to describe the mannerism of Spranger.' ** See Ilg, *Kunstgeschtl. Charakterbilder*, p. 218.

[5] See the catalogue of Rathgeber, pp. 362–364, Nos. 2094–2160.

[6] Rathgeber, p. 362, No. 2103.

Judgment,' executed for Pope Pius V., but this picture also is spoilt by absurd exaggeration: it contains about 500 faces.[1] These artists thought to attain to 'high artistic excellence' by 'quantity and bulk.'[2]

In still-life and in landscape painting the same tendency is apparent. In a 'Village Festival' by Jan Breughel more than 200 figures may be counted.[3] The artists of that period often crowded so many figures into their landscapes that it became a favourite amusement of lovers of art to count them.[4]

Among the artists of most mark were the Bavarian court painter Hans Müelich of Munich († 1573), Christopher Schwarz from the neighbourhood of Ingolstadt († 1596), and Frederic Sustris of Amsterdam († 1599).[5] The first of these was one of the best portrait and miniature painters of that time; he made admirable designs for vessels and ornamental articles, and he executed, in conjunction with Schwarz, the well-known altar with wing panels in the Frauenkirche at Ingolstadt, the pictures on which contain almost the whole teaching of Christian faith and morality. As 'exemplifying the connection between art and learning,' it is worthy of mention that the theological and philosophical faculties in their entirety co-operated

[1] Rathgeber, p. 367, No. 2202.

[2] For instance, in the 'Kreuztragung' ('Bearing the Cross') and the 'Tower of Babel,' of the year 1563, by Peter Breughel the Elder, an innumerable quantity of figures are introduced. These pictures are in the picture-gallery at Vienna (Lotz, ii. 570).

[3] Deschamps, p. 381.

[4] Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 298.

[5] M. Zimmermann, *Hans Müelich und Herzog Albrecht V. von Bayern*, Munich, 1885. ** See also, concerning Müelich, W. Schmidt in the *Zeitschr. d. bayrischen Kunstgewerbevereins*, ix. 3 ff., 8 ff. All sorts of information about the old Munich masters is given by Fr. Trautmann in the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 1–74.

in the production of this work.[1] While Müelich still kept to a great extent to the traditions of the old German schools, Schwarz who had at first done likewise, in his later works followed almost entirely the taste of his teacher Tintoretto. 'He is an enthusiastic follower of Italianism,' wrote Karl van Mander; 'he is the pearl of all Germany in our art.'[2] The Munich guild of painters named him 'the patron over all painters in Germany.'[3] His most important work is the victory of St. Michael over Lucifer on the high altar of the Church of St. Michael at Munich. As for the court painter, Frederic Sustris, most of his pictures are only known through copper engravings.

In Munich the artists had the advantage of being under patrons—Dukes William V. and Maximilian I.—who did not stint in payment. Sustris was in yearly receipt of a sum amounting to 600 florins; the Italian painter Antonio Maria Viviani received as much as 1,100 florins a year; the Netherlander Peter Candid, a remarkably prolific painter, had an annual salary of 500 florins, besides presents to the same amount.[4]

[1] Rée, pp. 20–21; Sighart, p. 707; Lotz, ii. 193.

[2] Van Mander, Bl. 258.

[3] Rée, p. 22. Cf. Sighart, p. 708; the Emperor Ferdinand I. considered Jacob Seiseneker († 1567) the best portrait painter of his time, but through aping Titian he became 'empty and superficial.' 'His strongest point is German accuracy.' Von Lutzow, *Zeitschr.* x. 154 158.

[4] Rée, pp. 34, 50, 64 ff. See pp. 260–266, an exact alphabetical catalogue of the numerous works of Candid. George Höf- or Hufnagel, a native of Antwerp, painted at Munich for William V. and Maximilian I. 'a number of charming little landscapes, for which he received handsome payments; for instance, in 1584, he was paid a lump sum of 575 florins' (Fr. Trautmann in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Gesch.* i. 28). Concerning William V.'s love of art, see also Riezler, iv. 627 f.; of George and James Höfnagel, Ehmelarz treats in the *Jahrb. d. kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xvii. 276 ff.

Less enviable appears the lot of the North German court painters. What a 'gruesome quantity of art work' was committed to them for meagre payment, and how intelligent (or non-intelligent !) from an artistic standpoint were the orders given to them, we learn, for instance, from a written order which Duke Julius of Brunswick sent on March 4, 1572, to his court painter and portrait painter, David von Hemmerdey. He wrote to him that he wished him 'as beautifully, quickly, and cheaply as the art of painting would allow' to sketch and paint the following objects: 'First, the ducal mines with all the beauties appertaining to them, the mountains, valleys, woods, ponds, meadows and landscapes around them, with all the buildings, workshops, foundries, and all adjuncts above and below the earth, and the manner in which the different works were carried on. Likewise the galleries and pits, all the rivers, streams and mountain springs, the waterworks, the iron and smelting works, the mint, the offices and streets, together with the whole of the Harz and all the game and the birds, and to insert on vacant spaces, or bye-work, hunting scenes, battles of savage men, heroes and pigmies, and all sorts of merry, amusing things. Secondly, the rafts floating from Goslar as far as to Wolfenbüttel and thence to Celle, with all the objects alongside; also all the scenery and objects of interest stretching for miles around Wolfenbüttel. Thirdly, all sorts of four-footed animals and birds, each after its kind and nature by land or by water, and all the incidents of the chase of birds and beasts and the way in which the different kinds of animals are baited, hunted and caught. Fourthly, the artist shall make pictures of the human, first of all naked and then

clothed, both of men and of women, just as they came out of their mother's womb, and showing their growth from stage to stage, from year to year down to old age; and if he can do nothing more he shall at any rate represent ten ages; and at every stage they shall be depicted first naked and then clothed, and finally swathed in their burial clothes as they are put into their graves.' 'All these pictures,' the necessary materials for which would be ordered for the painter, were to be executed as the Duke wished and according to the order given to the court painter. In reward for the work Hemmerdey received board, firing and bed-linen, a fee of one thaler a week, and every year one summer and one winter suit of clothing; the Duke also promised him that if the work was done entirely to his satisfaction he would give him an extra honorarium.[1]

The court painter of the Elector of Saxony, Heinrich Gödig, had to be content, from the year 1573, with an annual salary of 600 florins; amongst other jobs given him he was employed to paint in a saloon of the Augustusburg, on a dry plaster ground, hares either dressed up like human beings or in their natural state and imitating the actions of men.[2]

An essential part of the court painter's work was taking likenesses.

The love of portraits was very widespread in all

[1] Bodmann, *Julius von Braunschweig*, pp. 237–239. A court painter appointed by Duke Henry the Elder in 1502 received as yearly salary thirty florins in gold, one fat ox, two fat hogs, five bushels of rye, and twelve cartloads of wood (Müller, *Zeitschr. für deutsche Kulturgesch.* 1873, p. 520).

[2] See Andresen, i. 71. 'Gödig's works do not deserve any further attention except as indexes of the decline of German painting in the second half of the sixteenth century,' says Von Eye (*Führer durch das Museum des sächs. Alterthumsvereins in Dresden*, p. 36).

classes. The painter Michael Janssen Miereveldt is said to have painted as many as 10,000.[1]

[1] Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 296. ** The workshop of Lucas Cranach produced a very large number of portraits. As works of art these are mostly on a very low level. 'Insipid doll-like heads, that look as if they were made of wood, painted red and white; blinking eyes, which almost resemble the Chinese ideal of beauty, ungainly affected postures after the manner of the most eccentric fashions of the day; ponderous ladies' hats with waving plumes, puffed sleeves, and pantaloons; a profusion of gold chains and rings; heavy, ostentatious silks and satins; and, finally, inharmonious, hard, enamel-like colouring,' this is how Franz Rieffel describes Cranach's paintings, in a clever article published in connection with the Dresden Cranach exhibition (*Frankf. Zeitung* of 5 Sept. 1899; cf. also the same author's *Ausführungen im Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xviii. 424 ff. See, further, *ibid.* 22, p. 236 ff., and *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, n.s. xi. 25 ff., 51 ff., 78 ff.). 'The current idea of Cranach's painting,' the above-mentioned *savant* goes on, 'has formed itself unconsciously, as it were, from the innumerable portraits and half-length figures, as well as from the Bible pictures, which are so often exhibited under his name. As a fact, however, the majority of such paintings are only the products of his workshops. No painter carried on his art more as mere manufacture than did Cranach. In order to understand and properly estimate this great business one must picture to oneself the conditions of the time. Delight in pictorial representation, especially in portraits, had become general. People wished to leave their likenesses behind them for their families, or to give them to friends and relations. Princes and lords, also, presented their portraits as tokens of favour. In order to meet this strong though chiefly material need, no great artistic endowment was requisite. The extensiveness of the demand called forth a cheap and extensive supply. If Cranach, and Cranach only, happened to meet this want, the explanation simply is that, from his position as court painter, his work was in immense demand, and that his industrial organisation enabled him to execute such a mass of work. The immense staff of workers that he must have had at his command enabled him to undertake the most comprehensive commissions of all sorts, and, above all, to carry them out at a cheap rate. Many, I fear, of those who gave him orders, even the Elector Albert of Mayence, whose purse was by no means always equal to his love of art, were probably satisfied if Cranach undertook their commissions, prepared the rough designs, and, finally, stamped the goods with his own emblem—the winged snake. It would, therefore, be a great mistake to build up an artistic conception of this painter from the barren performances of the average Cranach type (easily recognised even by the uninitiated), and to let oneself be deterred by these from closer study of his art methods.' Rieffel, while undertaking the above task, also dilates admirably on the

Exceedingly modest was the request of Herr Christoph von Schallenberg († 1597) that his descendants should have all the members of their families painted

great original gifts of Cranach, gifts especially shown in several sacred pictures of his Catholic period. The oldest that is certainly known to be his is the 'Ruhe auf der Flucht' (the repose during the flight) of 1504 (once in the palace of Sciarra, at Rome, now in the possession of the Munich director-general of music, Levi). It is described by Rieffel as not only 'the most tender, the most lyric, and the finest of Cranach's works, but also as one of the profoundest and most remarkable creations of our German art at a time when it was still fresh, unspoiled by learning, and full of soul—before the Italian sirocco had scorched and parched it up. Dating from the year 1518 there is no more any question of development with Cranach. He (or, shall we say, his workshop ?) soon petrified ; it kept thenceforth to the approved and beaten tracks. One might naturally suppose that at this time he would have been appointed academical professor in the electorate of Saxony had there been then such a post of distinction for deserving masters. This does not mean, however, that he did not now and then in his later years accomplish some master-work, such, for instance, as his own portrait in 1550. But his pictures, as a rule, no longer have any soul in them. Nothing is expected from them, and they have nothing to give. His art has worn itself out.' The painter of 'Ruhe auf der Flucht' (rest during the flight) and the painter of the later pictures are 'two different beings. The one is a fresh, hearty, unfettered enthusiast, full of fervent poetry and music, an artist, a poet who has caught the soul of nature, whose place is certainly beside the great masters of art, Dürer, Grünewald, &c. The other is a dry, academical painter, a skilful practitioner, who feels the pulse of the fashion, and knows exactly what and how he must paint in order to satisfy the demands of his valued customers—namely, shallow, sentimental, soulless, tastelessly dressed or tastelessly undressed human puppets. He has at his disposal an array of fixed stamps and types which the workshop repeats and reproduces over and over again. Of anything like inward sympathy with the objects depicted there is no trace. A slight change of costume would make a Lucretia into a Judith, a Judith into a Madonna. The landscape in his pictures has nothing to do with the action : it is typical and conventional, an irrelevant accessory. He is lacking in all finer sense of colour. He ranks with painters of the third class. What bridge joins these two beings, if not the *auri sacra fames* ? This, so it seems to me, is the psychological and tragic point in Cranach's life.' Concerning the work of E. Flechsig, *Cranach-Studien*, 1st part (Leipzig, 1900), written in connection with the Cranach Exhibition, see remarks by W. von Seidlitz in *Beil. zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1900, note 185.

every ten years, 'let it cost what it might.'[1] The Augsburg citizen Matthias Schwarz had himself painted 137 times from the time when 'he was hidden in his mother's womb' down to his 63rd year, in 1560, and that moreover in every possible position and manner of dress; twice also completely naked, a front view and a back one. He appears in specially magnificent apparel when 'the fool (Cupid ?) hit him in the shape of a young Dutch lady;' he is depicted scratching himself meditatively behind the ear when he 'was so bold as to take unto himself a wife.' His son Veit Conrad Schwarz had been painted in portraits twenty-four times by the time he was nineteen.[2]

If however 'taking fine likenesses' was considered 'the best and highest work that art could do,' it was 'easily explicable that most illustrious princes and lords and their most illustrious wives and relations should have nothing so much at heart as their own beautiful portraits which they had taken in countless numbers, each of them being often painted twice a year.' Of the Elector Augustus of Saxony there are as many as thirty-two different portraits.[3]

What sort of artistic value was attributed to the 'innumerable counterfeits' with which 'castles were ornamented,' and which were given as costly presents to foreign potentates and princes, to relations and friends, may be estimated by the prices paid for these pictures. The Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg paid in 1533 for his likeness painted on gold the sum of eighteen groschen. His successor Joachim II. gave

[1] Von Hormayr, *Taschenbuch*, n.s., viii. 224.
[2] Fuller details in v. Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, iv. 129–134.
[3] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*. Bl. C.

four thalers and twelve groschen for 'three painted portraits of the King of France, the Duke of Alva and the Emperor Maximilian.' [1] For the portrait gallery of the Duke of Pomerania each copy was reckoned at three thalers.[2] Lucas Cranach received in 1532, for two portraits of the Saxon Elector, eight florins.[3] Later on the prices sank even lower: for sixty pairs of tablets adorned with princely portraits only 100 florins and fourteen kreuzers were paid—for each pair, that is, not even two florins.[4] When Lucas Cranach the Younger, who by order of the Elector Augustus of Saxony had executed a number of portraits of former dukes of Saxony, 'very beautifully and artistically,' was very desirous of receiving five thalers apiece for them, the Elector thought the price too high, his artist was paid only three thalers.[5]

Incomparably better was the lot of Hans Wörnle in Munich. He received forty-five florins apiece for a number of portraits of Bavarian dukes intended for presents to other courts.[6] Foreign painters made quite

[1] Moehsen, *Gesch. der Wissenschaften*, p. 497, note 6.

[2] *Baltische Studien*, xx. 122–123.

[3] Richard, p. 370. [4] Lindau, *Cranach*, p. 272.

[5] V. Weber, *Anna von Sachsen*, p. 337. At the above rates of payment for portrait painting it is difficult to make out what Von Eye (Eggers, v. 227), speaking of the portraits of the princes of the first half of the sixteenth century, means when he says that 'at this epoch the expenses of government cannot have been so very burdensome, seeing that they contracted all sorts of private liabilities.'

[6] *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 34. The quality of portraits which Hans Schöpfer had to paint for the Bavarian Court from 1558 to 1579 is seen from the records in Von Hormayr, *Taschenbuch*, n.s. xiv. 179–190. For the year 1560, for instance, there is the following entry: 'H. Schöpfer painted eleven "counterfeits," representing the Duke, the Duchess, and then their princes and princesses, for 190 guldens.' In the year 1578 he received sixty-five guldens for six 'counterfeits.' ** John de Witte, in 1578, executed portraits of the Margrave James III. of Baden 'for twenty thalers—*i.e.* nineteen *batzen* for each.' For the

different charges. Ferdinand II., Archduke of Tyrol, who according to the eulogistic account of Hans von Khevenhiller excelled other potentates 'in the collection of portraits as well as of other curiosities,' guaranteed the Spanish painter Alonso Sanchez twenty-six ducats for every copy he made of the old portraits of Spanish kings; on sending in the pictures ordered the artist raised the price to almost double.[1]

Ferdinand's own court painters, whose business was to decorate his castles, were paid like day-labourers 'by the yard.'[2]

The town magistracies also often paid painters at a miserably low rate. When, in 1617, the town council of Hanover employed Dietrich Wedemeyer, a 'master of the profound and difficult art of painting,' to cover sixteen ells of linen with the history of Samson, painted in oils, they paid him ten thalers for the work; each ell of painting thus brought him in a little over two-thirds of a thaler.[3]

Margravine 'he painted a "counterfeit" in gold for two crowns. Item, six other small tablets, "your Princely Grace's" likeness for two crowns apiece' (*Zeitschr. für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, xxviii. 194).

[1] Hirn, ii. 431–433; cf. 434–435. ** In 1588 Archduke Ferdinand wrote to the Elector John George of Brandenburg: 'Whereas we also are applying ourselves to the special work of collecting all sorts of portraits from the princely houses, both of men and women, of which we have already a goodly number to hand, we make a friendly request to your Grace that you would kindly send us also portraits of the House of Brandenburg, which no doubt you have of all the princely families.' A similar request was to have been sent at the same time to Prince Joachim Ernest of Anhalt (who, however, died meanwhile), and in the request it was expressly said: 'But only of the dimensions given in the accompanying paper pattern, so that they may be despatched the more easily' (*Zeitschr. für preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, i. 261, note). Concerning Archduke Ferdinand's love of art, and especially his collections, see the literature cited below, Section VII., p. 197.

[2] Hirn, i. 379–380.

[3] *Zeitschrift des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1873, p. 24.

CHAPTER VIII

SECTION V.—COPPER AND WOOD ENGRAVING

While chamber-painting in Germany was at its last gasp, copper and wood engraving were also dragging on a sorry existence. These trades had only exhibited any sort of artistic merit so long as the engravers had kept up the practice of making their own designs, instead of merely copying forms taken from other branches of art—notably from the pictorial art. With Martin Schön, Dürer and Holbein the mind had been as active as the hand: later on mind became overmastered by technique, and the inward substance was lost sight of, until at last dry mechanical industrialism took the place of genuine art work, and rapidly developed into a mere process of money-making.

Dürer's influence continued to be felt for a long time in the domain of copper and wood engraving, but not one of his pupils and copyists possessed anything approaching to his 'rich, secret treasure of the heart,' and none of them could in any way come up to their master. As soon as his influence ceased, German art lost all claim to originality in any important sense of the word. In Hans Sebald and Bartel Beham, Dürer's immediate pupils,[1] we still note great truth to nature and much fresh individuality, as well as considerable inventive fancy in decorative design of all

[1] See Seibt, p. 6 ff.

sorts for goldsmith's work. The two Behams, James Binck, George Penz and Albert Altorfer 'did all their work,' says Quaden von Kinckelbach, 'chiefly from life,' whereas with the later artists, such as Kornelis Bosch, Kornelis Mathys, Virgil Solis, and others, life had been gradually lost sight of and 'the spirit of cleverness and superficiality' had insinuated itself, until at last 'the reins had been entirely given to this spirit,' and the 'old art had been trampled under foot.' [1]

The figures were manufactured in mere outward imitation of Italian models, or else after the fashion of the versatile Henry Goltzius who produced such a multitude of pictures, remarkable for wonderful technical skill, but for the most part mawkish and soulless.[2]

One of the most prolific artists of the first half of the century was Anton von Worms, who in the course of twelve years prepared more than a thousand drawings for woodcuts; he still clung with a certain amount of tenacity to the traditions of early German art.[3] In the second half of the century Virgil Solis of Nuremberg, Tobias Stimmer of Schaffhausen, and Jost Amman of Zurich, were distinguished by 'inexhaustible pro-

[1] *Quaden von Kinckelbach*, pp. 430–431; cf. p. 403. 'The predilection for pagan subjects, for "antique forms," for plastic treatment of the human figure for its own sake, was introduced into German art chiefly through the young Nuremberg engravers, and it led, on the one hand, to a cold, academic style; while, on the other, it degenerated into obscenity' (M. Friedländer, *A. Altdorfer* [Leipzig, 1891], p. 82). 'It was the siren-calls from the land of the antique ideal of beauty which brought this change about, and the Nuremberg school plunged German art into the snares of mannerism' (C. v. Lützow in *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iv. 198).

[2] Notable examples of this mannerism, which had already set in with Lucas of Leyden, are the latter's '*Sündenfall*, the first case of fratricide,' and 'Adam and Eve by the corpse of Abel' (Woltmann, *Malerei*, ii. 534).

[3] See above, p. 151, n. 2; Butsch, i. 53–54.

ductiveness in work of all sorts.' Solis was not only a copper-engraver, but also an etcher, a modeller, a painter, and an illuminator; he wrote under his portrait:

Mit Moln, Stechen, Illuminirn,
Mit Reissen, Ätzen, und Visirn,
Es that mir keiner gleich mit Arbeit fein,
Drum heiss ich billig Solis allein.[1]

With painting and illuminating,
Engraving, drawing, etching, emblazoning,
None can come near me in delicate work:
Well, therefore, am I called Solis alone.

Of Amman it was said by his pupil, George Keller of Frankfort-on-the-Main, that in four years he had made 'enough drawings to fill an enormous hay-cart.'[2] Stimmer executed over 1,300 plates, among which were nearly 300 likenesses of scholars and other celebrities.[3]

[1] *Mittheilungen der kaiserl. Centralcommission*, v. 144.

[2] Waldau, *Vermischte Beiträge*, iii. 305 ff. For the bookseller, Sigmund Feyerabend, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Amman executed after 1564 'within twenty-four years, illustrations for such a quantity of works that it is scarcely conceivable how a publisher could be in a position to undertake so much.' That 'the woodcuts were in demand without reference to the text is shown by Feyerabend's enterprise in publishing the favourite plates of the master in a separate work.' In an enlarged edition of Amman's *Kunst und Lehrbüchlein* (1599) there are no fewer than 296 plates (C. Becker, *Jost Amman, Zeichner und Formschneider, Kupferätzer und Stecher* [Leipzig, 1854], p. v. ff.; ** see also Von Hefner-Alteneck, 'Über den Maler, Kupferstecher und Formschneider Jost Amman,' in the *Sitzungsberichte v. Münch. Akad. Hist. Kl.* 1878, *u. Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 254 ff.).

**[3] See Andresen, iii. 7–217; Heller, pp. 702–703. Concerning Stimmer see Stolberg, 'E. Stimmers Malereien an der astronomischen Münsteruhr zu Strassburg' (*Studien z. deutschen Kunstgesch.* 13). Worthy of mention as a curiosity are the *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniæ*, published by the Basle physicist, Heinrich Pantaleon (1565–1566), in three parts (folio). He begins with Adam, *protoplastus*; then comes Noah, *qui et Janus dicitur*, and immediately after Tuisco, *Germanorum conditor* (*i.e.* Tuisco, the father of the Germans). The Saviour stands between Eric, King of Sweden and Gothland, and the Vandal King Strumiko (part i. pp. 91–95). Most wonderful of all are

But with all three artists skill and swiftness led to superficial reproduction of ideas without thoroughness and clearness of understanding or drawing.

The addition of title-page borders, ornamental letters and pictures, both to religious and popular books, was still, as in the Middle Ages, considered as a matter of course. Authors and publishers of the different writings often exchanged these artistic adjuncts among one another; in Catholic and Protestant books, whose authors were fiercely pitted against each other, we do not seldom find one and the same set of illustrations; for instance, in a Frankfort edition of the Lutheran translation of the Bible of 1533–1534, and in the Catholic translation of the Bible by Dietenberger of the same date.[1]

Among the Catholic books of instruction and devotion the catechisms and prayer-books of the Jesuit Father Canisius were especially well supplied with woodcuts: the larger German Catechism printed at Dillingen in 1575, together with the prayer-book, has eighty-eight illustrations in half-size plates; the Greek translation of the smaller Latin Catechism, of 1613, published at Augsburg, has 104, a French translation of the following year, eighty-four, and one destined for China of the year 1617, more than 100.[2]

the *Prosopa*. At the beginning of each biographical account stands the bust of the hero, and very frequently the same picture is made to do duty for ten or more characters. Thus, for instance, the Carmelite Provincial, Johannes Meyer (about 1565), looks exactly like the pre-Christian 'Philosopher Zamolxis,' and Heligast, the Sicambrian priest of idols, just like the Cologne professor of theology, Matthias Aquensis, and also like Rudolf Agricola. The last *vir illustris* is Heinrich Pantaleon himself.

[1] See Wedewer, p. 451 ff.

[2] According to catalogues by Rosenthal in Munich and Weigel in Leipzig.

That these artists had neither great wealth of ideas nor lively power of imagination, is shown by the hundreds of woodcuts, often praised as 'clever Bible-pictures,' executed by Virgil Solis for the Frankfort edition of the Lutheran translation of 1561, by Tobias Stimmer for the Basle edition of 1576.[1] Scarcely

** [1] See Meyer, 'Die Bibelillustration in der zweiten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts,' in the *Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch.* iv. 178–182. Side by side with his faults Stimmer's merits are here discussed, but they are sometimes emphasised too strongly. On the general question of Bible illustration in the second half of the sixteenth century, Meyer says, *loc. cit.* iv. 167: 'The fine proportion between the incidents represented and their surroundings, between figures and landscape, or architecture, which gives us so much pleasure in Dürer and Holbein, disappears little by little; accessory matter gains more and more importance, and, moreover, as a rule, at sacrifice of the main subject, the persons or events represented. Brilliancy of outward effect and elegance (?) remain; but the spiritual substance dwindles more and more, and the harmony between spirit and form, between idea and outward shape—the mark of true classicism—goes out. Great results attained by simple means become rarer and rarer, while more and more frequently we meet with artists who, with all their abundance and pomp of matter, their crowds of figures, their luxurious architecture, still leave the eye unsatisfied.' The Bible pictures of Virgil Solis 'have in the main the above-mentioned characteristics of the epoch, without, however, ever rising above the average merit of these.' Concerning 'the excesses' of Solis, 'whereby he overstepped the boundaries of what is permissible and even desirable in art,' see Meyer, pp. 179–180. Jost Amman suffered from 'the tendency to overload his pictures with figures and incident.' 'A highly fantastic element in his decorative art reminds one almost of the age of Rococo. He is almost entirely wanting in capacity to produce great results with simple means.' The Virgin Mary receives the salutation of the angel in sumptuous attire. In the picture of John the Baptist there are 'so many newly baptised people putting on their shifts and stockings that one seems almost to be looking at a bathing-place.' In Amman's representation of the parable of the mote and the beam 'the appearance of the man with the beam in his eye is most comical. The beam is exactly half as long as its bearer, who yet does not seem to notice it, so engrossed is he in taking out the shorter splinter from his brother's eye,' and so forth (pp. 180–182). Tobias Stimmer is much more favourably criticised, especially as regards technique: 'He handled his landscapes and more ideal scenes in a masterly manner' (pp. 182–185). 'This whole period,' says Meyer (p. 186), 'cannot be better characterised than in the words of Louis Richter: "When the

one of these woodcuts shows any elevation, still less grandeur, of conception. Poverty of mind and of artistic sense is especially conspicuous, in both the Bible editions, in the treatment of the Prophets. The marvellous grandeur and spiritual inspiration of Isaiah, proclaiming in words of thunder the divine judgment on the crimes of the rulers and the sins of the people in an age which greatly resembled the sixteenth century, is represented by Stimmer in the person of an infirm old man, to whom a little angel with a pair of fire-tongs is handing a glowing coal, while in the background another old man, representing God the Father, with a long beard and royal robes of state, is looking on at the performance. To this picture the poet John Fischart, who supplied 170 pictures 'with rhymes for the edification of God-fearing hearts,' appended the following doggerel:

> How keen a prophet must have been
> Isaiah, in this picture is seen,
> For on his mouth an angel bright
> A coal from off God's altar lays:
> Hence the pure truth of Christ he says.[1]

idea takes shape in beautiful and living form, when the word becomes flesh, then the summit, the classic height, is reached. Invariably, however, the spiritual essence recedes more and more, and at last nothing remains but the dead flesh. This is the regular course of all art history.'' '

[1] Newly published by George Hirth in Munich and Leipzig, 1881. In the Ark of the Covenant Fischart's verses run as follows:

> Die Lad des Bunds samt Gnadenstuhl
> Ward gziert mit Engeln, wies Gott gfuhl,
> Und auch der übergulte Tisch
> Mit guldnen Gschirren zugerüst:
> Welchs als auf Christum Deitnus ist.
>
> The Ark of the Covenant with the mercy-seat
> Were adorned with angels, as it pleased God,
> And also the table with gold overlaid
> With vessels of gold was furnished;
> Which all is a type of Christ.

** Cf. L. G(eiger) in the *Beil. zur Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1881, No. 205.

When the Wittenberg printer, Christopher Walter, said disparagingly of the Frankfort edition brought out by Sigmund Feyerabend,[1] that it contained lewd figures and abominable pictures,[2] he did it injustice; only from the Catholic standpoint could the polemical plates designed for the Apocalypse[3] be described as 'abominable and extraordinary.'

In Amman's 'Wappen- und Stammbuch'[4] the pictorial merit is, in most of the woodcuts, on a level with the poetical merit of the verses which explain the illustrations; thus, for instance, 'Die Melancholie,' a miserable performance when compared with its namesake by Dürer, has the following verses attached to it:

> Far out, far out my fancy wings,
> Conceiving many wondrous things.
> Mislead me not if you're my friend,
> Or you will render me crack-brained.
> No joy brings me the children's laughter,
> Nor cackling that the hens make after
> Laying eggs. Oh let me in this mood remain,
> Or you will have but little gain!

Under a revolting picture of Bacchus are the lines:

> Hail to thee, Bacchus, thou noble boy,
> Of gods the gift, of man the joy.[5]

With Amman and Stimmer German wood-engraving as a means of illustration and ornamentation came to an end. All designs and forms degenerated. In Basle, Strassburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and other towns, where, in the fifteenth century and down to the middle of the sixteenth century, quantities of ornamental works both great and small had issued from the printing-

[1] *Biblia, das ist die gantze hl. Schrift Teutsch*, 1561.

[2] Cf. *Archiv für Gesch. des deutschen Buchhandels*, ii. 50–51; Pallmann, p. 10.

[3] See above, pp. 63, 64. [4] Frankfort edition of 1589. [5] Bl. N. Q.

houses, nothing more of any note was produced. Even in important works, such as the edition of Hans Sachs published at Nuremberg by Leonard Heussler (1578–1591), there is nothing in the way of ornamentation, beside some worthless Gothic initials, but borders and colophons; and as these were manufactured with mould-cutters, they could scarcely lay any claim to artistic merit. Almost everywhere people were content with bad imitation of earlier German or French work.[1]

Thus, towards the end of the sixteenth century all grand monumental art, whether connected with the Church or with public life, all high-class sculpture and painting, as well as wood and copper engraving, had, with few exceptions, lost all originality and creative force, and were approaching their end. Nevertheless, there were still at the time learned folk whose opinion was summed up in the following lines:

'Twas said in former years whene'er
The arts the theme of talkers were,
To such high pitch these had been brought
That nothing higher could be wrought.
Yet I to-day declare no ground
Whatever in such talk is found,
For true appearance showeth me
The opposite correct to be,
Whereas all arts have better grown
Than any that before were known.[2]

[1] Fuller details concerning the falling-off of the printing-houses in the different towns in Butsch, i. 23 ff.; ii. 24 ff. From as early a date as 1535 'we no longer find in any German printing-house the clever ornamental alphabets of the old German masters replaced by modern ones of equal merit. The worn-out types and blocks are still in constant use' (*ibid.* ii. 19; cf. ii. 29). 'In Germany, its actual home, the art of wood-engraving sank lower and lower, so that it became impossible to print anything but copper-plates in books.' 'Woodcuts were only fit for calendars, popular leaflets, and street placards of the roughest kind' (Falke, *Geschmack*, p. 161).

[2] *Theatrum oder Schawbuch allerlei Werckzeug und Rüstungen*, by

As a matter of fact there was only one sphere of activity in which any real artistic work had even a share, and this was not a national concern, and in no way benefited the people at large.

James Besson, translated from Latin into German (Mömpelgard, 1595), Bl. A. 2[b]. Woltmann (*Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, p. 27) will not allow that 'the national art was not in a flourishing condition about 1618.' It was not till the Thirty Years' War, he says, that the decadence set in. Lübke sums up his opinion concerning the German Renaissance as follows in the *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1887, No. 357: 'We must not expect to find in it the noble distinction of the Italian work, or the delicate grace of the French. Its prevalent characteristics are not only a persistent reiteration of mediæval forms, of late Gothic construction and decorative elements, but also, on the whole, a tendency to complexity, gaudiness, caprice, and coarseness.' But what this 'Renaissance' art lacks in artistic harmony and organic structure, in systematic adhesion to law, it makes up for 'abundantly by its inexhaustible fecundity, variety, freshness, and vitality.' Whatever influence Italy, France, and the Netherlands may have had on our art at that period, it still possessed an original force which assimilated everything into its own flesh and blood; and from about 1530 down to the outbreak of the unholy Thirty Years' War it brought forth a world of manifold creations, in which we are delightfully aware of a genuine love of creation, a joyous sense of newly acquired political security and religious freedom, a vital pleasure in honest burgher life.' Of this so-called 'newly acquired political and religious freedom,' this 'vital pleasure,' &c., there is no evidence to be found in contemporary records, but only evidence of the opposite.

CHAPTER IX

SECTION VI.—MINOR ARTS AND HANDICRAFT

For the secondary arts also the fifteenth century had been the actual golden epoch. These, however, had enjoyed an exuberant after-blossoming, while the higher arts were on the decline, and had then stood in the forefront of art-creativeness. Goldsmiths and silversmiths, jewellers, ivory-cutters, armourers, engravers, found plentiful employment in supplying the luxurious needs of the wealthy classes, and they produced in abundance choice and costly objects of solid excellence. The goldsmith's art, which, in the Middle Ages had done real wonders, surpassing even the works of the Greeks, was the longest to retain its place of honour; down to the beginning of the seventeenth century the goldsmiths produced objects of art, generally brilliantly enamelled, far superior even to the achievements of the earlier period.[1] In its main

[1] See F. Luthmer, 'Zur Geschichte des Geschmeides,' in the Feuilleton of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 8, 1888. The goldsmith's work of the sixteenth century served, above all, as a channel for man's love of a picturesque personal appearance. The element of colour appears triumphantly in the foreground, and gives its special character to Renaissance ornaments. ** 'What is still preserved,' says J. v. Falke, 'is altogether such as to give us a high idea both of the perfection of the art, of the purity of taste of the period, and of the quantity and the richness of the objects executed. And yet it would be a mistake to suppose that all that was most admired, or even all the best work of the whole century, has been preserved to us. On the contrary, if we read the contemporary accounts of famous masters of the period and their works, if we look

forms, moreover, the goldsmith's art adhered the longest to the old traditions of the Gothic.

Munich, Augsburg and Nuremberg were the chief centres of its activity. The treasures of the Church of St. Michael and the 'rich chapel' at Munich bear eloquent witness to the 'wonderfully subtle manner in which the goldsmiths worked.' [1]

Augsburg was regarded as the actual centre and high school of the art. The goldsmiths' guild there, in 1588, counted 170 masters, and the number went on increasing down to the Thirty Years' War. Each master was allowed three companions and one apprentice; in the year 1602 as many as thirty new apprentices were enrolled; the influx of foreign journeymen was so large that in the town churchyards special burial quarters were allotted to them.[2] Among the numerous

through the numerous inventories of treasures of distinguished families, still preserved in the archives, inventories of hundreds of objects of which not a single atom has survived to the present day, we shall at once become convinced that we possess nothing more than fragments—and, relatively speaking, inferior fragments—of the jewellery and the goldsmith's art of the German Renaissance' (*Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 126).

[1] 'The flourishing condition of the goldsmiths' art under Albert V. is specially shown by an inventory of all those objects of art which Albert declared to be the inalienable possessions of the Bavarian princely family, and which represented a solid value of 213,000 florins. How important a sum this was for the period is shown from the fact that a jewel casket, valued in 1565 at 12,618 florins, was priced at 173,810 florins in 1845' (Stockbauer, pp. 85–88). See also Hainhofer, pp. 61–67, 84–105. ** Cf. in addition J. H. v. Hefner-Alteneck, *Deutsche Goldschmiede Arbeiter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Frankfort, 1890, and *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 107 ff. See also Janitschek, *Repertorium*, xiv. 522–524, and Zimmermann, *Die bildenden Künste am Hofe Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern* (Strassburg, 1895), p. 86 ff.

[2] Fuller details in A. Buff, 'Das Augsburger Kunstgewerbe,' in the *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1887, No. 258 ff. In 1618 the number of Augsburg goldsmiths had risen to 200 (Von Lützow, *Zeitschr.* xx. 83, note). With regard to other towns it is said, for instance, that in 1618 at Frankfort-on-the-Main there were forty-eight goldsmiths besides 118 jewellers

goldsmiths of Nuremberg,[1] Wenzel, Albrecht and Christopher Jamnitzer, and Jonas Silber attained the highest renown. In accordance with the general spirit of the age and the craving for luxuries, the principal work of the goldsmiths consisted in the manufacture of all sorts of costly drinking-cups and ornaments; the most distinguished painters and copper-engravers, such as Hans Holbein, Hans Müelich, Jost Amman, and others drew the designs for them; Bernard Zan made more than fifty designs for beakers and goblets.[2] What Aloisius von Orelli wrote in the second half of the sixteenth century, viz. 'that since the inhibition of all religious pictures and pictures of saints, the walls of dwelling-rooms had been hung with drinking-vessels of all sizes and shapes,' did not apply to Zurich only. 'Wealthy houses,' he said, 'possess large capital in quantities of silver-gilt drinking-vessels, goblets, bowls, and so forth, and among these objects there is much admirable work.' 'The large drinking-vessels are in the shape of warriors, and horses or other animals, which the possessor wears on his coat of arms.' 'The articles on which most art and splendour were displayed were the vessels used for eating and drinking.'[3]

and ruby and diamond cutters (Kirchner, *Gesch. von Frankfurt*, ii. 465). At Hermannstadt, in Transylvania, the goldsmiths' guild, in the sixteenth century, numbered seventy to eighty masters (*Mittheilungen der kaiserl. Centralcommission*, vi. 148). ** Respecting Königsberg, see P. Schwenke and K. Lange, *Die Silberbibliothek Herzog Albrechts von Preussen, und seiner Gemahlin Anna Maria*, Leipzig, 1894. On the general question of art at the court of the Dukes of Prussia, see the copious work with the same title by H. Ehrenberg, Berlin and Leipzig, 1899.

[1] See Neudörffer, pp. 115, 124, 125, 126, 127, 159–160, 203–204; J. Baader on Nuremberg goldsmiths, in Von Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, i. 246–248.

[2] Andresen, iii. 257–262.

[3] Scheible, *Kloster*, vi. 707, 708. Drinking-vessels were named according to their special shapes: as, for instance, muscat or cocoanut,

One freak of fancy was to make sets of silver-plate for the table (*silberne Gesellschaften*, as they were called), with all the members of the family in their special costumes represented on them. Wenzel Jamnitzer († 1588) executed a table-set—one of his most prized works—consisting of a field-piece covered with flowers, vegetables, reptiles, lizards and snakes, over which rises a woman's figure typifying nature; on her head she carries a chalice-shaped vessel, from the middle of which springs an urn full of flowers.[1] 'What this Jamnitzer and his brother Albrecht produced in the way of animals, reptiles, plants and snails[2] of silver wherewith to decorate silver table-sets,' writes Neudörffer, 'is beyond anything heard of before.' 'The

acorn, pear, grape, pelican, swan, cork, ship, and so forth. If the utensil had the shape of an animal it was called by that animal's name. Others made in the form of chalices were adorned with raised bumps or knots, and are classed in all inventories under the head of 'Knorrechte Becher' (embossed). Other kinds, again, were of burlesque or fantastic shapes, such as monks, nuns, fools, and so forth. 'Sometimes the shapes appear so inconvenient for drinking purposes that the supposition is these articles must have been meant merely for ornaments. There were some even to which was attached machinery for making them run about the table. In the sixteenth century it was very common to have a kind of beaker made out of coins' (Becker and Von Hefner, i. 47). In the Dresden Historical Museum there is a silver drinking-vessel in the shape of a wheelbarrow, in which lies a dwarf with a cap and bells (Frenzel, p. 11).

[1] At present in the Rothschild Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main. ** Jamnitzer's principal work, an immense table-set, called 'Lustbrunnen,' which he began by order of Maximilian II. and completed for his successor, has unfortunately disappeared (J. v. Falke in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 128). Likewise it is unknown what has become of Wenzel Jamnitzer's work for Archduke Ferdinand (cf. Schönherr in the *Mittheil. des Instit. für Osterr. Gesch.* ix. 289–305). Some letters of Wenzel Jamnitzer from the Litteralia of the former Obermünster monastery at Ratisbon (now in the keeping of the General Imperial Archives custodian at Munich) were published by Anton Müller in the *Hist. Jahrb.* xviii. 857 ff.

[2] Blumensträusse; cf. Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 105.

leaves and grasses are all so fine and delicate that even a puff of breath will set them in motion.'[1] A relative of these brothers, Christopher Jamnitzer, made a table-set of silver-gilt representing an elephant carrying a tower and led by a fool; in the tower were fighting warriors. Jonas Silber executed a goblet with a richly embellished cover and pedestal which represented a sort of world history in all manner of scenes.[2]

A master of the very first rank—far surpassing perhaps all contemporary goldsmiths—was the Westphalian Anton Eisenhut, born at Warburg in 1554. The works which he executed in 1588 for the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn, Theodore of Fürstenberg, show, even in the handling of Gothic forms, high artistic and technical perfection. His chief works are two silver bindings for a Roman Pontifical and a Cologne missal, a silver-gilt crucifix exquisitely constructed and richly embellished, a silver-gilt chalice of equal delicacy and beauty, and a kettle for holy water, with a sprinkling brush so artistically devised that it stands almost alone among all works of this kind.[3]

[1] Neudörffer, p. 126.

[2] Förster, iii. 40–41.

[3] Fuller details in J. Lessing, *Die Silberarbeiten von Anton Eisenhoit aus Warburg* (with an introductory guide and fourteen photographic plates), Berlin, 1880; Lübke, *Kunstwerke*, pp. 507–519; J. B. Nordhoff, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, Heft 67, p. 137 ff. Nordhoff was the first to point out the great importance of this work of Eisenhut, in the possession of the Count of Fürstenberg, in his Herdringen castle, in the *Beilage zur Allg. Ztg.* 1878, No. 82. What numbers of treasures also, in different branches of art belonging to the sixteenth century, are to be found and criticised in Westphalia, has been lately shown by that admirable work by the same author, *Kunst- und Geschichts-Denkmäler des Kreises Warendorf*, Münster, 1886. Many of the finest sacred works date from the middle of the sixteenth century. ** It is, moreover, certain that the goldsmith's art was no longer in the same request as in earlier times for religious objects. J. v. Falke (*Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 133) remarks in this connection: 'Protestantism,

Military arms, too, which, with drinking-vessels, were the most coveted treasures, were also embellished with costly ornamentation by workers in gold and by ivory-carvers; for the hilts and sheaths especially every possible mode of decoration was invented.[1] In place of the earlier armouries, the great lords made collections of weapons and had suits of armour made for them as articles of luxury: not for the battle-field but for 'parade.' Thus, for instance, Rudolf II., who never once showed himself in the field, had a splendid suit of armour which, with its picturesque ornamentation, was a marvel of the arts of goldsmithery and armoury. Several German armourers executed for the Kings of Spain and France 'parade' suits of silver inlaid with gold and precious stones, and most luxuriantly ornamented. From Augsburg, a chief centre of artistic metal-work, there was a specially large export trade in costly suits of armour to all countries. The Elector Christian I. of Saxony paid 14,000 thalers for one of these suits.[2] What great results were achieved

with its small need for ornament and church utensils, robbed the goldsmith's art of a large part of its field of labour.'

** [1] Concerning the spread of the art of etching, cf. C. v. Lützow in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, iv. 221–223.

[2] Von Stetten, i. 492. Among the most exquisite of these suits of armour is reckoned one belonging to the Saxon Elector Christian II., which is now in the Dresden Museum; see the description in Frenzel, p. 89. This same Elector also had saddles and saddle-coverings made in the most costly style. In one of his parade-suits the pommel of the saddle consists of a large golden-topaz; the spurs, stirrups, and knee-caps are covered all over with garnets, and two swords, which hang on either side, are also richly ornamented with garnets, as well as amethysts, rubies, and other stones. The widow of the Elector Christian I., in 1608, made Duke John George a present of a German saddle and saddle-case 'embroidered all over with pearls' (Frenzel, p. 114). ** See also C. Gurlitt, *Deutsche Turniere, Rüstungen und Plattner* (Dresden, 1889); W. Boeheim, 'Augsburger Waffenschmiede, ihre Werke und ihre Beziehung zum kaiser-

in Augsburg in artistic ironwork is sufficiently shown by an ironwork armchair made by Thomas Rucker and ornamented with all sorts of ingenious devices, which the Augsburg town council presented to the Emperor Rudolf II.[1]

The fashionable world of Germany was inoculated from Italy with a taste for all sorts of articles that tended to personal glorification: medallions, memorial coins, and kindred objects.[2] Work of this sort, executed in the Italian spirit, belongs in its way to the best achievements ever attained by German art. In the department of heraldry, however, the all-pervading Renaissance spirit produced only confusion.[3]

All objects destined for the personal use of the great,

lichen und anderen Höfen,' in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistor. Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses*, xii. 165 ff.; xiii. 202 ff.; xiv. 329 ff.; as also A. Buff, 'Augsburger Plattner der Renaissancezeit,' in the *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1892, No. 228, 229, 230. Boeheim has also treated the subject of the Nuremberg armourers, their works and their relations to the imperial and other courts, in the *Jahrb. der kunsthistor. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, xvi. 364 ff.

[1] Von Stetten, i. 492–493. Cf. Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 110–112; Ebe, i. 80; Falke, *Geschmack*, p. 126 ff.; Förster, iii. 42. ** 'At this period bronze was not so much the material in request by the goldsmith's art, as iron. Up till then a material used only in the blacksmith's forge, iron, in the sixteenth century, entered into such close connection with the nobler metals that in many cases it is not possible to decide to which branch of handicraft to relegate it' (J. v. Falke in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 136; see pp. 136–141).

[2] Lübke, *Plastik*, ii. 774.

[3] See in this connection the important work, *Heraldisches ABC-Buch*, by Dr. Karl Ritter von Mayer (Munich, 1857), p. 98 ff. At p. 427 ff. the author draws a parallel between the development of heraldry and that of Gothic art. Dürer still paints his coats of arms according to a fixed method on a geometrical basis. Later on the style degenerated into pure rococo. The change is also perceptible in seals. In Gothic times they were made on architectonic principles. During the Renaissance they become arbitrary ornaments. Cf. Reichensperger, *Fingerzeige*, &c., pp. 109–110. The mediæval seal-cutters were among the most distinguished artists.

or even only for the embellishment of their houses, 'were made with such inordinate costliness,' says a contemporary, 'that everybody wondered how much time and money were wasted upon them.'[1] At Innsbruck the gun-maker, Wiguleus Elsässer, and three of his journeymen were once employed for a whole year on the fabrication of a gorgeous state-litter for the Archduke Ferdinand.[2] For an ebony writing-table, manufactured at Augsburg, with ten gold-embossed shields representing stories, landscapes and stag-hunts, Ferdinand paid the carpenter and the goldsmith in 1587 nearly 1,200 florins.[3] A side-board table, made in 1568 for Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, cost him the enormous sum of 8,202 florins.[4] The Elector Ferdinand of Cologne ordered of Hainhofer in Augsburg, in 1612, for Cardinal Borghese, a writing-table which was to cost from 2,000 to 3,000 thalers.[5] At the making of a cupboard, finished in 1616, for Duke Philip II. of Pomerania, no less than twenty-four artists and artisans were employed, under the direction of the Augsburg art carpenter, Ulrich Paumgartner. This cupboard, which was to some extent a compendium of the collective art work of that period, is made of ebony, covered with innumerable precious stones, pictures, sculpture and silver decorations; it is adorned with figures of

[1] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. B[b].

[2] Hirn, i. 378, note 3.

[3] Hirn, ii. 437. For other very artistic cupboards made at Augsburg, see Von Stetten, i. 114. Daniel Schicker, in 1600, did 'some excellent work in inlaid historical pictures.' The Augsburg smelter, George Renner, invented the first inlaying mill for the fine sawing of the rarer kinds of wood used for inlaying work. The joiners would no longer do any common work, as the writing-tables made by them met with such great approval (Von Stetten, ii. 36–37).

[4] L. Westenrieder, *Baierischer histor. Kalender für* 1788, viii. 10 ff.

[5] *Zeitschr. des histor. Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, viii. 10 ff.

griffins with weapons in silver or silver-gilt, allegorical figures of the fine arts in silver bas-relief, female figures performing music, little boys with musical instruments, insects made of silver, the elements and the seasons in painted enamel, mythological representations in medallions, and, to crown all, a silver-gilt representation of Mount Parnassus. The inside is fitted up with portraits of the ducal family and other oil paintings, mosaics, musical clocks, and other 'precious art productions.'[1] The Dresden art carpenter, Hans Schifferstein, after twenty years' work, so it is said, completed a cupboard of ebony and *Königsholz* (a kind of pinewood): it was decorated with ivory ornaments and carved figures, and contained over 100 drawers; also a small piano or spinette, and a map of the world engraved on ivory.[2] 'Artistic carpentry' stood everywhere in such high esteem that at Halle-on-the-Saale, in the year 1616, Augustine Stellwagen, who was condemned to be hanged for a theft of silver, was let off because he was an 'art carpenter.'[3]

During the Middle Ages house furniture had been of a thoroughly simple kind, but artistically beautiful. Bannisters and ceilings, doors and windows, tables and chairs, cupboards and chests, locks, stoves, and lamps all bore witness to the fine taste and skilful hand of the workman; even the commoner utensils and articles of furniture were characterised by fitness and beauty, and had in them something special and individual, which pleased the eye and satisfied the æsthetic sense. The ancient simplicity had, however, long since disap-

[1] In the Art Industrial Museum at Berlin. See Förster, iii. 41–44; Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 99–100.

[2] Frenzel, pp. 9–10.

[3] Schönermark, p. 411, note.

peared, when in 1543 Hans Sachs enumerated 300 articles which 'belonged almost to every house,' and like the state saloon and the state kitchen were the highest pride of a noble family. Then soon came the craze for all sorts of meaningless, bombastic display; in industrial art as in architecture, decoration ran wild.[1]

This degeneracy of the decorative art is a notable sign of the prevalent spirit of the age, for decoration is just as much an expression of contemporary conditions of culture, a mirror of national life, as are the higher arts, and as is literature. So long as a nation is fired with a genuinely artistic spirit, its decorative work is always in close connection with the object decorated; between the object and its decoration there exists a symbolic relationship; ornament has artistic form and real meaning. This was the case with the ancient Greeks in their golden epoch of art; such also was the case in the best periods of the Middle Ages. In the new art methods, however, no regard was paid to the inner appropriateness of ornamentation. Even Hans Holbein was guilty of mixing figures of sphinxes with pictures of saints; round a figure of Christ, with all the sick and the poor coming to Him, he placed all sorts of musical instruments.[2] In Dürer's exquisite borders

[1] Comparing the whole range of so-called Renaissance decorative art with the Gothic art, Van Eye says, in Eggers, vi. 118: 'Ornamentation, whose basic forms had expanded by their own nature and energy to their utmost limits and could develop no further, was compelled to seek new ground-forms from which to evolve fresh decorative varieties.' 'These were found in the traditions of antiquity.' 'The question, however, arises whether the same formative energy was present. The history at the back of later achievements gives a decided negative answer.' 'The later ornamentation never accomplished results such as the Gothic had produced.' And yet the chief excellence of the Renaissance lies in its ornamentation.

[2] Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 297–298.

to the prayer-book of the Emperor Maximilian I. all the ideas and conceits are kept in strict subjection to the thought of the prayer; playful and amusing accessories help, by contrast, to bring out all the earnestness and sublimity of the subject,[1] whereas the decorations executed by Lucas Cranach for a prayer-book seem meaningless, eccentric, and tasteless in comparison.[2]

A few decades later Daniel Hopfer went to the wildest extremes of confusion in his decorative designs: caricatures and animal monsters in combination with Renaissance elements, with vases, foliage, fruits, and naked human figures of repulsive hideousness.[3]

In the free domain of art every kind of caprice was to be allowed. The so-called minor masters made innumerable designs for all branches of minor art, for utensils and vessels, table-sets, plates, goblets, salt-cellars, and so forth.[4] These objects are decorated

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

[2] Schuchardt, *Cranach*, ii. 98–100; see also iii. 173, 331.

[3] Falke, *Geschmack*, pp. 119–120. 'In this wild confusion of mind he is a veritable child of the first effervescent period of the Reformation.'

[4] Whereas 'all subtile and liberal arts have lapsed into veritable decay and ruin,' the Strassburg painter Heinrich Vogtherr published in the year 1545 *Ein fremdes und wunderbares Kunstbuchlin allen Malern, Bildschnitzern, Goldschmieden, Steinmetzen, Schreinern, Plattnern, Waffen- und Messerschmieden hochnützlich zu gebrauchen, dergleich vor nie kein gesehen oder in den Druck kommen ist* (*getruckt zu Strassburg bei Jacob Frölich*) ('A strange and wonderful art booklet for the use of all painters, carvers, goldsmiths, stonemasons, joiners, armourers, and forgers of weapons and knives, the like of which has never been seen or printed before: printed at Strassburg by James Frölich'). He presented himself solemnly to the public with the announcement: 'Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ,' 'to all lovers of the liberal graces and arts given by God,' which he herewith presented in a 'summary or booklet of all sorts of strange and difficult pieces which require a great deal of imagination and thought.' By means of this little handbook of art 'dull heads were to be helped and guided, the highly intelligent and inspired

with wreaths of foliage growing out of goats' skulls and bits of armour, men turned into fish, fish into branches and leaves, while the leaves shape themselves into grinning faces. Objects of every description, religious and mundane, domestic utensils, vessels of wood or iron, of gold or clay, all alike were ornamented in the same manner as representatives of 'antique' art; the decorators inaugurated a wholesale resurrection of ancient mythology; they ushered in a new epoch in which the gods were decked with crowns, the goddesses with fans and peacocks' feathers. There was also a general rage for all sorts of extraordinary allegorical pictures which were unintelligible to the people.

Any true sense of modelling and painting which the artists may have had previously had altogether disappeared after the middle of the century, when the debased Italian taste poured like a flood over Germany. All beauty of outline in pots, vases and other utensils was lost under a mass of heavy exaggerated ornament. The most extraordinary and incongruous objects were seen in juxtaposition, or even mixed up together in eccentric confusion: buildings, musical instruments, festoons of flowers and fruit, pictures of human beings, real and fabulous, *amourettes*, sirens and sphinxes, tritons, dragons and monsters.

In connection with all these monstrosities there appeared also at this juncture a new kind of ornamenta-

artists were to be encouraged and admonished to produce still higher and more subtile works of art, out of brotherly love, in order that art might once more rise up and attain to its true dignity and honour.' For this purpose he introduces (see Woltmann, *Kunst im Elsass*, p. 314) quantities of little woodcuts of all sorts of articles, helmets, harness, arms of different kinds, candelabras, and rare and extraordinary headgear for men and women.

tion called 'leather ornamentation,' which superseded the foliage-work, the correct treatment of which was no longer understood, and which consisted in imitation straps bending, interlacing and winding under and over each other. It was at first applied to buildings in so far as stone could adapt itself to this treatment, and later on to gold and iron work in the decoration of borders and frames, and all articles of domestic carpentry.[1] Whereas formerly industrial artists had made it their aim and business to connect beauty with suitability and usefulness, they now gave themselves up to all sorts of useless and aimless trivialities, while with them, as with the architects, decoration and ornamentation became the chief concern; they devoted their energies to all sorts of ingenuities, made jewel-cases, wardrobes, writing-tables like small buildings with columns, friezes, juttings and gables of all kinds, even with portals; frequently these objects were so constructed that the whole scheme of columns was set in motion by the opening of the cupboards.[2] In like profusion, and merely for show, they made utterly useless tables, chairs, bedsteads, plates, dishes and goblets, besides innumerable other worthless objects of art.[3]

[1] See Falke, *Geschmack*, p. 123 ff., 162–165; Falke, *Zur Kultur und Kunst*, pp. 204–205. ** Concerning the so-called 'bent ornament,' which led immediately to the Baroque, see also J. v. Falke, in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 125. 'In Germany there appeared also at Cologne, in 1599, a handbook on this kind of art (a *Schweifbuch*), drawn and etched by Edelmann, containing quantities of such ornaments which could be applied at the discretion of the artist, and dedicated to all carpenters, upholsterers, goldsmiths, and so forth.' See also A. Lichtwark, *Der Ornamentstich der deutschen Frührenaissance*, Berlin, 1888. Cf. W. von Seidlitz in Von Lützow, *Zeitschr.* xxiv. 22–232.

** [2] Cf. in this connection J. v. Falke in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 125.

[3] Another art that flourished in Augsburg was the manufacture of

As in the period of decadent Greece and Roman Cæsarism, so at the time we are treating of, it was the inordinate, limitless demands of luxury which called forth articles of this sort.[1]

In art pottery Augustine Hirsvogel of Nuremberg was especially famous; the flourishing pottery factory at Nuremberg became as it were a high school for German potters. 'From Venice,' so writes Neudörffer, 'Hirsvogel brought much art pottery work with him, and he made Italian ovens, jugs and pictures after the model of the antique, as though they were cast in metal.'[2] He also executed a quantity of different designs of vessels for goldsmiths or potters. The handles of these vessels consist mostly of dolphins, snakes, the horns of rams or satyrs, lions' feet, and so on; the vessels themselves are made to represent a goat, a human leg, a male or female bust, and what not.[3]

'Automata,' or self-moving articles. Achilles Langenbucher, who in reward of his skill was presented with the right of citizenship in 1610, constructed 'self-working musical instruments which performed madrigals and suchlike compositions. He even made a great instrument for a church which performed a whole Vesper of 2,000 measures. He also invented all sorts of mechanical toys representing dancing scenes, stag-hunts, sheepfolds, and so forth' (Von Stetten, i. 184–190). A peepshow, made at Augsburg in 1586 for Ferdinand II., Archduke of Tyrol, represents a forest in which a huntsman with a dog is following a stag, which is caught by a second huntsman. All these figures are moved by mechanical clockwork, which is also supposed to imitate the cry of the hound (Hirn, ii. 437, note).

[1] Admired and gazed at as 'wonder works' of German art, these objects are still the attraction in private collections, treasuries, and 'Green Vaults.'

[2] Neudörffer, p. 151.

[3] Fuller details on the many-sided activity of this artist in K. Friedrich's *Augustin Hirsvogel als Töpfer. Seine Gefässentwürfe, Öfen und Glasgemälde*, Nuremberg, 1885. ** See also J. v. Falke in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 156–158. Concerning the curiosities in pottery-work

Nuremberg was also the actual home of an infinity of small 'very wonderful curiosities,' by which the artists, as in Greece at the time when high art was decaying, exhibited their particular skill. In Greece, for instance, the Lacedæmonian Kallikrates used to make ivory emmets and other little animals of such wonderful minuteness that the different limbs were not visible to the naked eye. The Milesian Myrmekides carved a four-in-hand equipage, the whole of which, including the driver, could be covered with the wings of a bee; also a ship which could be concealed under the wings of a bee.[1] Ingenious toys of this sort were constructed by Hieronymus Gärtner of Nuremberg. He carved 'out of a bit of wood, about the length of the first finger, an agriot, or cherry, with its stalk, and 'which was the greatest and most praiseworthy feat, out of the same little piece of wood, a midge with wings and feet, and all so perfect as if it was alive; it was all also so cunningly contrived that if one blew into it only once the cherry-stalk and the midge were set in movement.'[2] Peter Flötner also turned his mind to producing something equally 'great and praiseworthy;' 'he carved on a cherry-stone 113 different faces of men and women; he also carved little animals and flies on coral beads which looked as if they had grown there.' Leo Bronner proved himself even more

in the sixteenth century, see Falke, *Kultur und Kunst*, pp. 255–284. 'The majolica fabrications of the Renaissance period, once in such high repute, were already beginning to deteriorate towards the end of the sixteenth century, partly owing to the decline of the art and partly to the greater popularity of Oriental porcelain and white glazing. In the course of the seventeenth century majolica ware came altogether to an end' (p. 291).

[1] Pliny, *Hist. nat.* book vii. chapter 21; book xxxvi. chapter 4.

[2] Neudörffer, pp. 115, 116.

ingenious. He took 'a cherry-stone and carved on it eight different little heads or faces: as, for instance, an emperor's, a king's, a prince's, a bishop's, &c., besides an inscription in Latin letters and other ornamental work (all which could be seen and read distinctly through a magnifying glass), and on the same cherry-stone over 100 articles of household furniture and implements, such as tables, benches, chairs, dishes, salt-cellars, knives, compasses, scissors, &c., of wood, iron, tin, brass, each in right proportion with its winding and motion, and nevertheless the stone was not quite filled up.' [1]

Such and similar 'most meritorious ingenuities, never heard of before, and which even a Phidias would have found it impossible to make,' were very popular. The ducal art treasure-room at Munich was once presented with a work of art of the size of a *Kreuzer* (a farthing) with ten faces, which had only four eyes between them, and yet each face appeared to have two.[2]

[1] Neudörffer, pp. 115, 116, 211. See Von Rettberg, *Nürnberger Briefe*, pp. 128–131, ** and Lange, *Flötner*, p. 7.

[2] Stockbauer, p. 121.

CHAPTER X

SECTION VII.—ART COLLECTIONS OF THE PRINCES

In Germany at that time, as is the case with all nations in periods of the decay of art, there was a strong tendency to collect and preserve the treasures of centuries of autochthonous work, and to make costly collections of objects of art of all kinds. This practice prevailed especially among the princes, whose outlays for the purpose were out of all proportion to their revenues and to the material prosperity of their territories.

One of the most renowned of these art collectors was Duke Albert V. of Bavaria. He had become acquainted in Italy with the excellence of the new art, and he was anxious to model his own court after the pattern of Italian princely courts; like Lorenzo de' Medici, he was styled the father of the Muses, the Magnificent, the golden fountain which flooded and fructified all intellectual domains; his epoch was praised as the Medicean era in Bavaria. The treasures collected by him form the groundwork of the later court library, treasure-chamber, and collection of coins; by his purchases of antiques he laid the foundation for the future Antiquarium. The old Pinakothek also, the Glyptothek, and the 'Rich Chapel' of the Residence contain valuable acquisitions of this art-loving prince.[1] From the correspondence of Albert

[1] ** See Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, iv. 481. For the Munich Library

with his agents it has come to light that the Duke was often very badly used in regard to his costly purchases of antiques: portraits to which he attached great value in most cases bore false names.[1] The Venetian Nicolo Stoppio, who was commissioned to buy 'celebrated antiquities,' once sent in a consignment worth 7,163 florins; most of the articles, however, were only 'faulty casts,' 'rubbishy stuff;' all the same his services were retained and several hundred crowns were forwarded to him from time to time.[2]

Another Italian was commissioned by the Duke to buy up corals, shells, and specimens of enamelled glass, but when his purchases arrived in Munich, Albert saw that they were rubbish. 'They are worth nothing,' he said, 'I wouldn't give ten farthings for them,' and yet this art connoisseur also was later on again entrusted with considerable sums.[3] The news that the Countess of Montfort had given 100 thalers for a 'rusty brass penny' did not astonish the Duke. 'We can well believe it,' he wrote, 'for we have ourselves experienced the same sort of thing.'[4] For additions to his art museum the Duke begged for presents of the Pope and

see Muffat in the *Bayerische Blätter für Geschichte, Statistik und Kunst*, 1832, Nos. 10 and 11, and Von Reinhardstöttner in the *Jahrbuch für Münch. Gesch.* iv. 54 ff. For the history of the Munich cabinet of coins see J. v. Streber in the *Denkschriften der königl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1807, p. 1814 ff., and H. Riggauer, *Gesch. des königl. Münzkabinetts in München* ('Bayerische Bibliothek von K. v. Reinhardstöttner and K. Trautmann'), Bamberg, 1890.

[1] Rée, pp. 11–12. ** Cf. Christ, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Antikensammlungen Münchens,' in the *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie*, Philos.-philolog. Kl., X. Part ii. (1864), p. 361 ff.

[2] Stockbauer, pp. 26, 63 ff. 'We can rightly recognise some of the purchases of this said Stoppio among those rococo figures which are now for the most part relegated to the lumber-room.'

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 67–69.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 81.

the Emperor, of cardinals and of German and foreign princes; the Queen of France also was asked 'to send specimens of things rare and foreign to this country.' The Duke of Florence once sent over, among other things, 'parrots and sea-cats, our Lady's likeness made of all sorts of feathers from Mexico, a Mexican idol, a chessboard with mother-of-pearl squares, leathern flasks decorated with colours, the tooth of a sea-horse, from which were made a variety of rings that were good for all sorts of things, Indian mice,' and so forth. 'An antique charm for bleeding' was later on added to the treasures of the art museum. The licentiate Ludwig Müller presented a drinking-shell of ultramarine, which was 'a charm against greed of money and other evils,' and he wanted in return for it a present of 100 florins.[1]

[1] Albert 'as collector seems to have been more keen on the acquisition of the curiosities with which the so-called art museums of the princes were wont to be filled than of pictures; these last also were far more in request for the sake of the objects they represented than for that of art or of the artists who painted them. Indeed, the likenesses of emperors, princes, and philosophers—above all, the portraits of famous men from the half-mythic heroes down to criminals broken on the wheel, or human deformities—play the chief part in the catalogue of pictures. The descriptions, moreover, linger by preference over works which from their treatment fall under the category of curiosities, as, for instance, a Salvator Mundi "with a cord by which the eyes can be moved," and in other respects the inventory which has come down to us is as barren and unscientific as it can be. In a list of almost 700 works in the Fickler inventory of 1598, with the exception of the historical pictures of William IV., there are scarcely a dozen paintings which are to be found in the present collection' (Von Reber, *Catalogue*, v.–vi.). ** Riezler (*Geschichte Bayerns*, iv. 476) says emphatically that the patronage of the arts at Albert's court 'presents a delightful contrast to most German courts of the period, where especially in the north, besides feats of arms, hunting, and dissolute carousals, there was no taste for anything but dogmatic disputations.' 'It has indeed been inferred,' Riezler goes on to say, 'from the nature of the articles in the ducal art museums, that in the domain of painting Albert was wanting in actual interest in and understanding of art, and undoubtedly many of his commissions

This art museum was to the princes a source of 'great delight,' but for the people it was little more than a coveted treasure; it was only by special favour that they could be admitted to see it, and they had to pay for the visit with a present. A councillor and custom-house officer at Straubing, on whom this favour was conferred, presented 'only a trifling Paternoster' (=a rosary), for 'everyone,' he wrote, 'to whom such a favour is granted has, according to old custom, to make a present to the aforesaid museum.' [1]

From numerous quarters Albrecht was solicited with respect to 'costly artistic purchases.' Thus, for instance, Herr Wilhelm von Loubenberg was ready 'for a sum of earnest-money' to hand over to him his 'heathen earthly treasure, chests, silver books, shells, and similar antiquities,' for 'his sons had no appreciation of these heathen mysteries.' 'A splendid art study,' to which Louis Welser, of Augsburg, directed the Duke's attention, was offered for 5,000 ducats; four *Balasse* (light red rubies) were valued at 150,000 crowns.[2]

The Duke expended large—or rather, in view of

and purchases had to do with curiosities, and not with art work. This, however, need not essentially lessen his well-founded fame. It is a question whether a more favourable impression of his pictorial acquisitions would not be formed if we were to survey also the paintings preserved in the apartments of the castle.' That it was not possible even for the historian of Bavaria to do this may well cause wonder.

[1] Stockbauer, pp. 74–76, 79, 120–121. ** 'These old collections,' says Ilg (*Kaiser Rudolf II. als Kunstfreund*, p. 63), 'had no instructional, no national, aim. They were in no way educational institutions; they were not institutes for the "encouragement of the arts and crafts" as the modern phrase goes.' And in another place (p. 70): 'I know not whether the Emperor Rudolf was fond of reading Horace, but *Odi profanum vulgus* was written in invisible letters over the door of his museum, for during his lifetime there were very few mortals to whom a glimpse into this sanctuary of his genius was vouchsafed.'

[2] Stockbauer, pp. 72, 80, 81, 108.

the then value of money, enormous—sums. James Strada of Mantua received from him for the purchase of antiquities nearly 22,000 florins; the painter Titian was paid 1,000 ducats for a 'little crystal coffer chest;' 24,000 florins for a *Balass* and a diamond; 10,500 florins for a jewel; 12,000 crowns for a jewel with pearls from Venice, and 400 ducats for pearls. Besides all this there was the payment for guarding and transporting. In the course of one year (1567) Strada received in payment for the travelling expenses to fetch some works of art 200 gold crowns, besides 310 florins, and a further sum of 284 gold crowns, and for the final settling up 100 florins.[1] For goldsmith's work alone from Munich and Augsburg 200,000 florins were spent;[2] a single bed canopy, which the Duke had made for himself, cost 450 crowns.[3]

Although he might have been lauded by a court official after his death as a 'God-fearing, excellent, and most reasonable lord, who was extremely fond of learned and artistic people, and who wanted to embellish Bavaria both within and without,'[4] the Provincial Estates, nevertheless, by reason of a debt of 2,300,000 florins which he bequeathed to his son, were somewhat less full of artistic enthusiasm. They complained repeatedly during Albert's lifetime,[5] and

[1] Stockbauer, pp. 25, 51 note, 92–94, 105, 108.

[2] Rée, p. 24. [3] Stockbauer, p. 118.

[4] Westenrieder, *Beiträge*, iii. 86; Stockbauer, pp. 1–2.

[5] ** See Riezler, iv. 485 ff., 620 ff. The ducal councillors spoke out very freely in a memorandum of the year 1557. They urged emphatically that all means aiming at the improvement of finances would be fruitless unless a change took place in the prince's own person. True, these admonishers were entirely deficient in the understanding of art, and they may frequently have overstated their case, but in the main their descriptions hit the mark. 'Whatever he sees that is costly, foreign, rare,

immediately after his death, in 1579, they complained to William V. that, 'Pleasure-houses and other unnecessary buildings had gained ground enormously; besides which, pernicious commissions, especially to foreigners, had come into vogue, through which all sorts of ruinous purchases of rare but useless things were effected.' [1]

By no means better were the economic conditions of the Austrian lands when the Emperor Rudolf II. 'distinguished himself as the most lavish patron of art.' As the alchemists proclaimed him their new Hermes Trismegistos, so those who derived profit from his purchases called him a 'beyond all measure highly famed lover and connoisseur of all ingenious arts,' a 'German Medici who gathered together the most beautiful things from all parts of the world.' His collections in the large halls of the Prague citadel were, at any rate, among the most distinguished and costly that existed at that period. While for 'political affairs of the empire, and necessary enterprises for safeguarding the imperial dignity, money was scarcely ever forthcoming,' and the State coffers were often so empty that there was no means even of despatching couriers, the Emperor always had incredible sums in readiness for matters of art: for instance, for a statue of the Greek Scopas 22,000—according to another authority, even

that he must have! Two or three goldsmiths are kept constantly at work for the Prince alone. What they make one year is either broken up or replaced the next year. The painters and portrait painters scarcely come out of the new fortress the whole year through! Added to these are the carvers, turners, stonemasons, the preposterous outlay for clothes, tapestry, mummeries, &c., the injurious excess in eating and drinking, in banquets and social gatherings.'

[1] See Rée, p. 25; Stockbauer, p. 19. 'Any sympathetic understanding of Albert's collections the Provincial Estates certainly had not, but they had a good understanding of the country's need.'

34,000—ducats, and for a cameo representing the apotheosis of Augustus, 12,000 ducats.[1]

In almost all countries—not only in Germany, France, and Italy, but also in Greece, in the Levant, in Egypt

[1] Svatek, p. 242. In the Hofburg, on the other hand, for want of money, they thankfully accepted the offer of the Fuggers to send the despatches of the imperial cabinet to Madrid or Rome by their commercial couriers; see Von Hübner, *Sixtus der Fünfte*, ii. 28. Concerning Rudolf II.'s purchases for his 'museum of treasures and marvels,' see also the records in Von Hormayr, *Taschenbuch* (new series), ix. 282–286. ** See, further, Urlich, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen und Sammlungen Kaiser Rudolfs II.' in the *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, 1870; A. v. Perger, 'Studien zur Gesch. der k.k. Gemäldegalerie,' in the reports and contributions of the Antiquarian Society at Vienna (1864), vol. 7; and Venturi's important article embodying contributions from the Archives of Modena, Turin, and Venice to the *Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen Kaiser Rudolfs II.* in Janitschek's *Repertorium für Kunstwissensch.* viii. 1 ff.; Ilg, 'Kaiser Rudolf II. als Kunstfreund' in '*Die Diöskuren.*' *Liter. Jahrb. d. Beamtenvereins d. Altstadt-Gymnas. zu Prag*, 1893; Ilg, *Kunstgeschichtl. Charakterbilder*, p. 210 ff.; as also Th. v. Frimmel, *Galeriestudien* (*Gesch. der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*), Leipzig, 1889, and Grauberg, *La Galerie des tableaux de la reine Christine de Suède ayant appartenue auparavant à l'empereur Rodolphe II.*, Stockholm, 1897. In the *Jahrbuch der kunsthistor. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, i. 118 ff., Ilg deals exhaustively with the subject of the sculptor Adrian de Vries, in the service of King Rudolf II. In the same *Jahrbuch*, iv. 38 ff., Ilg writes on the relations of Giovanni da Bologna to Max II. and Rudolf II.; see also in the same place, xv. 15 ff., Von Drach, Jost Burgi, private clockmaker to Rudolf II., and (p. 45 ff.) Haendke, Joseph Heintz, court painter to Rudolf II. Another great lover of art and zealous collector, of portraits especially, was the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol; see, besides the monograph of Hirn, Ilg, *Kunstgeschichtl. Charakterbilder*, p. 206 ff., and, above all, the valuable work of F. Kenner, 'Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol' in the *Jahrbuch d. kunsthistor. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, xiv. 37 ff.; xv. 147 ff.; xvii. 101 ff.; xviii. 135 ff.; xix. 6 ff. In the same place, ix. 235 ff., Ilg on Francesco Terzio, court painter to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. In the same place, xviii. 262 ff., W. Boeheim, 'Der Hofplattner des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol, Jakob Topf.' Maria, the wife of Archduke Charles II. of Styria, developed also very great enthusiasm in collecting; see Wastler, 'Zur Geschichte der Schatz-, Kunst- und Rüstkammer in der k.k. Burg zu Graz,' in the *Mittheil. d. k.k. Centralcommission*, 1879, 1880, and 1881.

—Rudolf employed paid agents, whose business it was to procure him all possible objects of art: paintings, carvings, jewels, gems; also rare natural objects and 'rarities' of every kind; his morbid craze for collecting extended even to America. In a catalogue compiled after his death, in 1612, the worth of his art museum was reckoned at 17 millions in gold, while the court chamberlain, Christopher Siegfried von Breuner, estimated the debts left behind by the Emperor at 30 millions. Hardly any unpawned object could be found.[1]

But whatever the costliness of the art treasures collected by Rudolf, and however large the number of really fine works among them, neither the Emperor nor the men entrusted with the arrangement of the treasures had any true understanding of art: the objects were placed in cheerful confusion, beside and upon each other just as in a curiosity shop, the most valuable ones next the most worthless. A catalogue, fifty-seven sheets long, compiled by one of the overseers, gives a closer insight in this respect. We find in it such entries as the following: 'In the compartment No. 1 in the German room in the upper shelf, the bust of a woman's portrait in flesh-coloured gypsum, lying on a flesh-coloured and red taffety cushion, and underneath it some boxes containing Indian feathers.' In another compartment 'all sorts of rare sea-fishes, and among them a bat, two boxes with magnet-stones, and two iron nails, said to come from Noah's ark, a stone which goes on growing, two cannon balls from a Transylvanian mare, a box with mandrake roots, a crocodile in a case, a monster with two heads.' In a third compartment, 'eighty-two specimens of all sorts of artistic

[1] Svatek, p. 246; Hurter, *Ferdinand II.*, iii. 71–75.

objects turned in ivory, a soft skin which fell from heaven into his Majesty's camp in Hungary; a death's head of yellow agate, a case containing a large piece of bone, three bagpipes.' In a fourth, 'three landscapes on Bohemian jasper framed with Bohemian garnets, a large painted mirror ornamented with pictures, a miniature painting of the Virgin Mary, a crystal lion, a little silver altar.' Next to a 'fruit-market by Long Peter hung copies of a Judith of Leonardo da Vinci, a bath of Joseph Arginas,' and so forth.[1]

The particular nature of the Emperor's own artistic taste and of that of his circle becomes apparent, in the year 1596, in the 'restoration' of the Church of St. Mary on the Karlstein; by imperial command the beautiful Carolian frescoes were overlaid with white-wash;[2] a life-size, full-length picture of the Mother of God was dwarfed into a bust and framed in a halo.[3] Even the portraits of Charles IV.'s ancestors in the hall were subjected to whitewashing.[4]

[1] From a MS. of the Viennese Court library in Svatek, pp. 246–248. 'Verily Barnum's museum could not be more higgledy-piggledy' (p. 248). ** Ilg, *Kaiser Rudolf II. als Kunstfreund*, p. 61 ff., pronounces Svatek's judgment to be too severe; nevertheless he, too, is forced to own that 'It is true that there is no discoverable trace of system, plan, or methodical distribution in all that is known concerning this gigantic mass of thousands and thousands of objects of art, of natural curiosities, minerals, &c., in the apartments of the Prague Castle. . . . The inventories, one and all, call up to the reader's eye a picture of most hopeless confusion and disorder. A mummy next to a wild boar, bronze busts side by side with knee-breeches of Spanish leather, globes and firearms, mosaics and saddles, miniature paintings and buttons—all in friendly juxtaposition one with the other.'

[2] *Report of the Imperial Central Commission*, iii. 274, 275.

[3] 'The remains of which, disjointed and ludicrous, now fall transversely over the bust like a scarf-fringe.'

[4] We cannot, therefore, with Ranke (*Zur deutschen Geschichte*, p. 177 ff.), celebrate the Emperor as a veritable Mæcenas of art, and say of him that 'he loved both art and its significance.' ** Another diligent

collector, but chiefly of curiosities, was Duke Philip II. of Pomerania, Stettin. He, too, was wanting in all understanding of art. His art agent also, the Augsburg patrician, Philip Hainhofer, did not understand much about it. From the correspondence between these two we get a very clear idea of the character of the art collections of that period. Between good and bad, between pictures and playthings, works of art and natural history curiosities, scarcely any difference was made. See O. Doering, 'Des Augsburger Patriziers Philipp Hainhofer Beziehungen zu Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern-Stettin. Korrespondenzen aus den Jahren 1610–1619 im Auszuge mitgetheilt und kommentiert,' Vienna, 1874 (*Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, N.F. Bd. vi. Herausg. von A. Ilg).

CHAPTER XI

NATURALISM IN RELIGIOUS ART AND IN THE REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE—ABSURDITY AND VULGARITY

THE depth of degradation to which art had gradually sunk is shown by the fact that religious subjects and sacred personages were often treated in a purely mundane fashion. Sacred pictures lost the stamp of innocence and piety which had belonged to the old indigenous art, and they showed scarcely any trace of the fervent spirituality from which, formerly, the most beautiful creations had sprung.

In earlier times the patrons who gave orders for sacred pictures had had themselves painted 'kneeling humbly before God and the heavenly hosts,' 'but nowadays,' so runs the lament of a book of religious instruction, 'it has become the evil custom for men to wish to see themselves, their wives, children, relations, and friends painted in churches as holy saints, if not, indeed, actually in the character of the Saviour Himself.' [1]

In Saxony contemporary celebrities were often introduced into pictures of 'The Last Supper' and other paintings as Scripture characters: Luther appears as St. Peter or St. Luke, Melanchthon as St. Mark, the Elector Augustus as Christ Himself.[2] When the Cologne

[1] *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers*, Bl. 10[a].

[2] See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 185; Schulz, *Vortrag über die Gesch. der Kunst in Sachsen* (Dresden, 1846), p. 41; Von Eye, *Führer*, p. 36.

councillor Hermann von Weinsberg, in the year 1556, gave an order for a church picture, he wrote to the painter that his own portrait must appear in it as St. John, and that of his wife as the Holy Virgin Mary; in the following year he had an altar-picture executed in which his stepson figured as St. John, his brothers as St. Mark and St. Luke, two churchwardens as Abraham and Moses, and so forth.[1] Cornelius Ketl executed a 'Last Supper' made up of likenesses of contemporary artists and friends of art.[2] Even the favourites or the mistresses of the princes figured in the characters of saints: the pictures were to represent experiences of the heart.[3]

Even in some of Dürer's and Holbein's works there had already appeared a tendency to coarse realism which by no means accorded with the ideal of old German art. Dürer once represented St. Joseph asleep by a great bowl of beer.[4] Holbein's 'Dead Christ,' executed from the corpse of a drunkard, or a man who has been hanged, is gruesome;[5] his God the Father as an old

[1] Buch Weinsberg, ii. 87, 91. [2] Deschamps, p. 201.

[3] See Schuchardt, *Cranach*, i. 154–155, and ii. 35, 40; Lindau, p. 220; Seibt, i. 23, note 1; Deschamps, p. 201; Michiels, iii. 40, 368–371; Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 296; De Canditto, pp. 148, 291, 476–477, 479–481, 504; Rathgeber, *Annalen*, ii. 294; Carrière, p. 97. 'As the old Catholic modes of thought,' says Lecky, 'began to fade, the religious idea disappeared from the paintings, and they became purely secular, if not sensual, in their tone. Religion, which was once the mistress, was now the servant of art. Formerly the painter employed his skill simply in embellishing and enhancing a religious idea. He now employed a religious subject as a pretext for the exhibition of mere worldly beauty. He commonly painted his mistress as the Virgin. He arrayed her in the richest attire, and surrounded her with all the circumstances of splendour' (W. E. H. Lecky, *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, 5th ed. i. 242).

[4] In the Basle Museum.

[5] Hegner, *Holbein*, pp. 165–167; Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 61; Grimm, *Über Künstler und Kunstwerke*, ii. 128. ** Holbein's naturalistic treat-

man in an arm-chair,[1] or his own father as God the Father, his son as the boy Christ,[2] are unpleasant specimens of the realistic 'naturalism' which soon invaded German painting, to the expulsion of the noble natural elevation and dignity, together with the supernatural glory, which had formerly characterised it. The new spirit showed itself indirectly in a different way in Holbein's pen-and-ink illustrations of Erasmus's 'Praise of Folly,' notably in the picture of John the Baptist with the Lamb of God, under which are the words: 'Sheep are the most stupid of animals, and yet Christ loved to compare Himself to a lamb.' [3]

With many of the painters of that period religious art soon came to be completely travestied. Urs Graf represented the Holy Family, Christ being taken prisoner, the fight between St. George and the Dragon, in caricature; [4] he made fun of the Angel of the Day of Judgment.[5] A facetious picture of Christ bearing the

ment of the burial of Christ is criticised as follows by Janitschek in his *History of German Art*, iii. 450: 'The ideal atmosphere has vanished. A man's head completely disfigured by suffering, with wide-open mouth, swollen, drooping eyelids, wrinkled forehead, hair matted with the sweat of anguish, and sticking to his head—this is the picture of the Christ. Still more horrible is the physical distortion caused by pain and death in the easel-picture of "Christ in the Grave." Here, too, the mouth is wide open, the nose peaked, the cheeks sunken, the eyelids swollen, and the soft brown hair hanging in matted hanks round his head. The lean body is stretched out stiff and stark in the rigidity of death, the backs of the hands and the insteps are swollen in consequence of the wounds, the fingers and nails are stretched out in a cramp. It is just as if Holbein had bent all his energies on copying a model from the mortuary, so appallingly true to nature is the picture, as a whole, and in its details.'

[1] Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, i. 144–145.

[2] Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 161, and ii. p. xiii.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 283.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 206.

[5] The angel is represented as laughing while holding the scales for weighing souls, and little devils are dragging millstones along (Woltmann,

Cross by Peter Breughel the Elder resembles a village feast;[1] a picture of Christ bearing the Cross, by Peter Ärtzen, is treated like the execution of a poor criminal at the time of the painter.[2] Sebastian Vrancks represented the Saviour with the two disciples at Emmaus in a common tavern, where the guests are drinking and playing cards.[3]

Another characteristic of the epoch was the craze which possessed many of the artists for inventing 'something new and out of the way.'[4] One painter depicted the Saviour, bleeding from his wounds, throwing the horned devil with great force to the ground;[5] another placed in the hand of the Virgin Mary a pestle with which she crushed Satan.[6] In a tasteless picture by Lucas of Leyden the Holy Virgin, crowned, is kneeling with the child Jesus before St. Anne.[7]

Christian and mythological paintings were placed indiscriminately side by side; next to the Crucified One were Hermæ and Caryatides; next to a St. Margaret with the dragon, Amor and Psyche embracing each other and Diana hunting;[8] next to an oceansprite a St. Christopher.[9] Now a pulpit was adorned with

i. 207). Among the numerous woodcuts with which Urs Graf illustrated the Basle edition of the *Homilies* of Guillermus, there is one which notably shows the pitch of downright realism which he had reached in 1509. It is the picture of 'Christ on the road to Emmaus, in which the Saviour not only carries a knapsack, but actually wears a cap which looks strange enough between the head and the glory' (Meyer, *Geistliches Schauspiel*, p. 165).

[1] Michiels, iii. 339–340. 'Un tableau facétieux.' 'On croirait voir une kermesse plutôt qu'une scène tragique.'

[2] Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 306–307.

[3] Bartsch, iii. 188.

[4] *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers*, Bl. 9[b].

[5] Copper-engraving without monogram, and with the date of the year 1563. From the Böhmer bequest.

[6] Deschamps, p. 170.

[7] Michiels, iii. 119.

[8] See Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 149, 478.

[9] Andresen, ii. 162.

satyrlike Hermæ,[1] now a church-bell with dancing fauns and bacchantes.[2] On the sepulchral monument of the Elector Maurice in the Cathedral at Freiberg, it is the mourning Muses and Graces that attract most admiration;[3] on the monument of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, there is a figure of Christ in a state of theatrical agitation: Christ surrounded by merry, dancing angels; a squatting Pan serves as groundwork for the figure.[4] On one of the most superb sepulchres of Germany, in the funeral chapel of the Fuggers at Augsburg, two satyrs are kneeling by the coffin of the deceased;[5] on a sarcophagus of Duke Philip of Pomerania (1560) all the free spaces are filled in with genii and masks of satyrs.[6] On a richly adorned monument in the church at Jever (1563) there appear, beside the Holy Trinity, and the figures of Moses, Peter, and Paul, the figures of Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, and other gods and goddesses; beside the representation of the funeral procession are processions of warriors, fauns, and satyrs, battles of knights, monsters and gorgons.[7]

[1] Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 829. [2] Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 147.

[3] Ebe, i. 245; see *Zeitschr. f. Bildkunst*, N.F. xi. 20 ff.

[4] Lübke, *Renaissance*, i. 437; Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 347. ** There is a copy of Albert's monument in Seemann, *Deutsche Renaissance*, Bd. IV. Abt. vi. Tafel 27. Schneider, in his valuable treatise, 'Der Urheber des Marktbrunnens zu Mainz' (*Mayence Journal*, 1890, No. 273), attributes the design of this monument, executed by Dietrich Schro, to Peter Flötner. Lange (*Flötner*, p. 84) is of opinion that the treatment of ornamental detail is not Flötnerisch. Nevertheless, even he does not deny that a rough sketch by the master may at any rate underlie the whole.

[5] *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, ii. 186.

[6] Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 819.

[7] Lübke, *Renaissance*, ii. 294–296, 507. 'An instructive example of the wanton eccentricities of the baroque style already coming into vogue in the last third of the sixteenth century' is seen in a monument to a

Hours and Graces in company with allegorical figures of the virtues often appear side by side with the risen Saviour. The Saviour with the banner of victory was often depicted on epitaphs surrounded by many coats of arms. Balthasar Jenichen of Nuremberg executed a coat of arms of Christ, in six fields, with the inscription 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, our Redeemer.'[1] Most of the distinguished people who ordered Church pictures had at heart what Christopher von Schallenberg (†1597) enjoined on his successors: 'If anyone in his lifetime has pictures made for churches he must always have his coat of arms added to them.'[2] The walls and pillars of churches were covered with coats of arms. A patron of the Church of St. Nicholas at Reval insisted, in the year 1603, that 'none of the nobles must be allowed to hang up their arms in the church unless they pay a just remuneration, for how is the church benefited by their arms if it gets nothing from them; it is a bad sort of decoration, and shows great arrogance on the part of the nobles.'[3]

The author of a book of spiritual instruction, commenting on what to him appears the worst sign of the low ebb of religious and moral feeling, says: 'What I specially deplore in all this art, which professes to serve God and religion, and what I often hear complained of by many Christian men and women, is the great licence and indecency in which the painters, engravers, and sculptors indulge, which they seem indeed to make their chief study. They no longer represent holy women

Count of Stolberg and his wife (†1578) in the church at Wertheim (Lübke, i. 82).

[1] Andresen, ii. 156.

[2] Von Hormayr, *Taschenbuch* (new series), viii. 224.

[3] Andresen, ii. 156.

and saints decorously, as in the old pictures, with all their limbs covered, so that no one may be incited by them to evil thoughts, but they paint them shamelessly naked and indecent, so much so that one can only think it is done advisedly for the excitement of passion.' [1] In like manner Lorichius, in his 'Christlicher Laienspiegel,' of the year 1593, inveighed against all those painters, sculptors, and carvers who represented sacred subjects in an 'indecent, farcical, or offensive manner.' [2] Christ Himself was sometimes depicted in paintings and engravings without a vestige of clothing; [3] a copper-print of 1603 shows St. Mary Magdalene, at the feast of the Pharisee, at the Saviour's feet, with the upper part of her body almost bare, and in the most voluptuous form; for, says an accompanying inscription, 'To the pure all things are pure and beautiful.' [4] More frequently this saint was represented as a penitent, quite naked, and without a trace of feminine modesty. Urs Graf painted a naked female saint being scourged by soldiers with whips and rods, and by another artist a holy woman was represented being tempted by the devil. Artists also preferred to represent the Christian virtues, like the vices, by naked figures. Lucas Cranach

[1] *Ein Erklerung des Vater Unsers*, Bl. 10[a]. In the ordinances of the Strassburg diocesan synod of 1549 we read: 'Procaces imagines, et *nimis artis lenocinio*, ad mundanae potius vanitatis speciem, quam ad pietatis commotionem effigiatas, in templis poni omnino vetamus;' see Jacob, p. 111, note 2, where also other similar ordinances are printed. Concerning objectionable pictures of the Holy Trinity, and a no less objectionable representation of the 'Puerperium beatae virginis decumbentis et aegrotantis,' see Molanus, pp. 43, 71–72.

[2] Part II. chap. xix. p. 117.

[3] See, for instance, Schuchardt, *Cranach*, ii. pp. 12, 232; Bartsch, vi. 286.

[4] A copper-print with a little bird as the sign of the engraver. From the Böhmer bequest.

even depicted Religion as a perfectly nude recumbent female figure. Peter Flötner, on his Plaquettes, represented Faith as a female figure with the upper part of the body bare, and holding in one hand the cross, in the other the chalice and the Host.[1] The so-called Lesser Masters, Hans Sebald Beham, Barthel Beham, and George Penz,[2] stand out prominently in the nude treatment of Bible and Christian subjects. They delighted in choosing scenes from the Old Testament which lent themselves to shameless representation:[3] Susanna observed by the lascivious old men, Bathsheba by David, Lot's adultery with his daughters, Potiphar's wife and Joseph, the naked Judith, Abraham and Hagar, and so forth. With odious hypocrisy they appended moral maxims to these pictures which mocked at all sense of propriety; sometimes, however, maxims of quite a different kind. Cornelius Cornelissen painted a Bathsheba in her bath, waited on by naked women.[4] Tobias Stimmer, in his woodcuts for the Basle edition of the Bible of 1576,[5] introduced nudities on almost every page; more than twenty times an almost naked Eve, with the serpent, appears in the marginal decorations; many of the pictures sin against all decency. They were certainly not calculated 'for the godly edification of pious hearts.'[6] Even in the catechisms for school

** [1] Lange, *Flötner*, p. 128; illustration plate x. No. 83.

[2] Urs Graf; see Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 297; Bartsch, x. 128.

[3] See Lichtenberg, p. 28. [4] Förster, iii. 28.

[5] See above, pp. 176, 177.

[6] See Nos. 2–5, 8, 9 (Ham), 15 (Lot and his daughters), 31 (Joseph and Potiphar's wife), 81 (David and Bathsheba), 135 (Susanna). In the illustrated Catholic translation of the Bible by Dietenberger (1st edition, 1534) there are no pictures to the stories, except that of Bathsheba. She is sitting with her feet in the water, a towel covering her body. Somewhat indecorous, on the other hand, at sheet 1[a], is the initial 'I' decorated

children all sorts of extraordinary and far from edifying woodcuts were introduced.[1]

Just as Christian pictures were scattered about thoughtlessly in heathen books, so Christian books were filled with mythological, caricaturist, and even indecent illustrations and decorations. On a decorative title-page, executed by Lucas Cranach for a treatise by Luther on the Holy Communion, there was a deer and three stags, with all sorts of odd, naked, tailed figures, and one female figure of this kind.[2] In the volume of 'Old and new spiritual songs and hymns of praise on the birth of Jesus Christ our Lord,' published by John Spang in 1544 'for young Christians,' the ornamental border of the title-page shows among other items a naked woman with an hour-glass, Jael in the act of killing Sisera, and a naked woman

with a picture of our first parents (see Wedewer, p. 456), and sheets 3^a and 3^b, the Creation and the Fall.

[1] Concerning such illustrations Löschke (pp. 50–51) says, among other things: In the picture of the descent of the Holy Ghost, true to the Scripture words 'and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each,' the Apostles are represented with tongues projecting far out of their mouths, and split lengthways down the middle. In order to make the cleavage quite indubitable, one of the halves generally hangs down over the chin, while the other is turned upwards, and is long enough to close an eye if necessary. . . . This eccentricity is specially evident in an *édition de luxe* of the Lutheran Catechism, illustrated by Joh. Tettelbach, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1579.' 'Of still more doubtful nature are other situations, which are brought under the eye of school children of all ages. In the first article there occurs frequently a picture of Eve in a state of innocence, standing hand-in-hand with Adam by the forbidden tree, and turning her face to onlookers. The duty of children to their parents, as stated in the Fourth Commandment, is illustrated by the warning example of Ham, who did not cover the nakedness of his sleeping father. Noah appears also in a picture in the catechism, unclothed, as Ham saw him.' (For the rest of these illustrations readers are referred to the German, vol. vi. p. 150, note 6.)

[2] Butsch, i. 71, plate 93.

who is plunging a dagger into her own heart.[1] No less unsuitable are the title decorations of John Dietenberger's pamphlet on monastic vows, written against Luther in 1524: here are seen the naked Graces four times repeated; at the top they are dancing before Apollo, who, with his head crowned in court fashion, is playing the lute; at the sides they are leading a round dance; at the bottom they are flying from Venus in the bath.[2] Hans Holbein's vignettes, often offensive and nasty, were used by Froben for theological works.[3]

An engraver of the year 1603 was actually not ashamed to represent the Saviour Himself embracing one of the holy women, whilst the Holy Virgin looked on sideways, and he added the inscription: 'Love, says St. Paul, overcomes all things, and love makes all things pure.'[4]

Art had ceased to be a 'contemplator of heavenly joys.' How low she had fallen from her earlier height is

[1] Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, p. 475. See Wedewer, p. 483, on the title-page to the writing of A. Corvinus, *Von der Concilien Gewalt und Autorität*.

[2] Wedewer, p. 451.

[3] Butsch, i. 68, plate 59. In a book of Peter Martyr the 'S' from Holbein's *Toten-Alphabet* actually stands, 'with a picture as horrible as it is obscene, at the head of the dedication to Charles V.' (Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 18). 'In those days,' says A. Kirchhoff in the *Archiv für Gesch. des Buchhandels*, x. 124, 'in literature, art, and ornamentation, in words and in pictures, things were taken lightly which nowadays the energetic interference of the police and the press censors would rule out. We are astonished, on a closer study of book decoration, at the extreme impropriety constantly apparent, at the *naïveté* or thoughtlessness with which vignettes of the most doubtful kind are introduced even into theological works. But this much applauded *naïveté* and ingenuousness of the so-called good old times appears on closer inspection somewhat skin-deep. This, at least, is the opinion I have formed after a perusa of all the Leipzig town-books of the sixteenth century.'

[4] Plate of artist quoted above, pp. 212, 213. See what Molanus (lib. ii. cap. 42) says about a picture.

shown most especially in the treatment of the Four Last Things of man. On Dürer's splendid cartoon of the year 1513, 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' firm faith and Christian confidence still carry off the palm over the spectres of darkness; in Holbein's pictures of death, completed before the year 1526, there is the expression of bitter irony, but at the same time also of deeply moving sentiment, especially on one plate on which Death performs for the priest, who is carrying the sacred Viaticum to a sick man, the services of sacristan with bell and taper, goes into the house before the priest and blows out the light of life in the dying man before he has received the last consolations.[1] Holbein makes death triumph over life, but he is still artistically elevated. On the other hand, Nicholas Manuel's 'Dance of Death' is nothing more than a farcical game of death with life; and the 'Triumph of Death' of the Peasant-Breughel is like a bad nightmare, or dream of delirium.[2] As represented by Hieronymus Bosch, Death, overthrowing everything and spreading terror, rides through a crowd of people of all ranks, races and ages, while a hay-waggon, on which sit Vanity, Fame, and a devil blowing a trumpet, is drawn along by seven men half changed into animals.[3]

Hans Sebald Beham used 'Death' on an engraving merely for the sake of introducing an indecent scene; Henry Aldegrever painted Death as a naked woman.[4]

[1] See *Hist.-pol. Bl.* 64, 693 ff.

[2] Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 258; Woltmann, *Holbein*, ii. 129; Becker, *Kunst*, pp. 386–387; Carrière, pp. 216–217; Ebe, i. 78; Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, i. 53. Holbein's skeletons have something demoniacal about them (Woltmann, ii. 107). ** See Lichtenberg, p. 60 ff.

[3] J. D. Passavant, in Eggers, iv. 223.

[4] Bartsch, viii. 173–177, Nos. 146–147, 150–152; and viii. 404.

In the representation of the Day of Judgment no painter any longer attained anything like the grandeur and elevation which characterise, for instance, the famous picture at Dantzig, and a wall picture in the Ulm Cathedral executed probably by Hans Schühlein in 1470.[1] Above all, the art of depicting the rapture of heavenly bliss had been entirely lost. In Lucas von Leyden's 'Day of Judgment' the delineation of nudity appears to be the sole aim of the painter. 'From his nude figures of men and women,' says Van Mander, 'it is plain to see that he has observed life very closely, especially naked women.'[2] The picture shows no trace of heavenly beatitude. The pictures of the Day of Judgment by Jan van Heemsen and Bernard van Orley are no better.[3]

The one-sided representation of what was bad and ugly was a chief and integral fault of the whole tendency.[4] 'It is no longer pure and sacred art that finds the most makers and lovers,' says a contemporary, 'but gruesome art which delights in counterfeiting devils

[1] See, concerning the latter, Lübke, *Bunte Blätter*, pp. 338–348.

[2] Van Mander, Bl. 213b. Certainly there are unclothed figures on the Dantzig picture also, but the attitudes and treatment of the resuscitated bodies, who are entering the heavenly Jerusalem and are being clothed with the garments of grace by an angel at the gate, are extremely modest and chaste.

[3] Schnaase, *Niederländische Briefe*, pp. 63, 228; Waagen, *Malerei*, i. 150–151; Michiels, iii. 95–96.

[4] 'Not that good was despised and downtrodden, but the triumph of good appears to a certain extent clouded over by the superabundance of its opposite, and the space covered by the latter, as, for instance, in the "Last Judgments," there are, as a rule, scarcely room or figures enough left over for the representation of felicity. The element of good is often chiefly conspicuous through its absence; and, moreover, the figures meant to represent it are generally characterised by stiffness and hardness which point to the restraint put on imaginations corrupted by unbridled flights' (P. M. in Eggers, vii. 358).

and ghosts; for it has come to this, that artists are more anxious to inspire fear and terror by their works than to give consolation.'[1]

For this purpose engravings and woodcuts were the principal mediums used, and there grew up 'a whole cycle of devil-pictures.' Jost Amman, in a plate for the 'Theatrum Diabolorum,' drew fourteen devils in human form, with animals' heads to characterise them more closely.[2] Hieronymus Nützel put in three devils, to lash female extravagance in dress.[3] Hans Burgkmair introduced seven.[4] On a plate by Urs Graf the devil, a horrible monster with a large horn, tusks, outstretched tongue, bat's wings and a long tail, is driving wildly before him a man in chains who is wringing his hands in despair.[5] In a 'Temptation of Christ,' by George Penz, the devil has an absurdly bizarre disguise: he is a fish above and a man below.[6] Lucas Cranach's representation of hell is made revolting by monstrous or by immoral scenes.[7] Melchior Bocksberger of Salzburg also used his inventive powers in painting numbers of horrible devils, which he introduced into a large picture, 'Die Befreiung der Altväter aus der Vorhölle durch Christus' (The Liberation of the Fathers of the Church from Limbo by Christ).[8]

But in invention and representation of horrible figures and scenes, all these painters of devils were far behind the Netherlanders, Hieronymus Bosch and Peter Breughel the Younger, commonly called Hell-Breughel, and their successors, who depicted the in-

[1] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. C. [2] Andresen, i. 317. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 108.
[4] Bartsch, vii. 218; see vii. 272, and ix. 399.
[5] Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 209. [6] Eggers, viii. 12.
[7] Schuchardt, *Cranach*, iii. 226–227.
[8] Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler*, ii. 127.

fernal regions with a ghastly power of imagination, and, as one may say, with the genius of an executioner.[1] In the representations of the Seven Deadly Sins by P. Breughel, engraved by Mirycenus, the form of the devil is terrifying and spectral, while at the same time infinitely varied. These pictures are made up of hobgoblins and sorcery; even harmless household utensils or crockery are invested with life and movement; bare trees stretch out arms and snouts of wondrous shapes; lattice windows of tumble-down huts look out with grinning eyes, while the house doors become abysses. Pride is represented by a lady of distinction with a mirror and accompanied by a peacock. If this lady took the trouble to look behind her she would see a naked girl being led by devils as by bailiffs. Avarice sits as a richly dressed woman beside a money casket, surrounded by sacks of money and a pair of gold scales. Behind this figure a usurer is buying a silver plate from a poor woman at a very low price, 'in pawn.' Other naked figures—also poor people who have nothing left to pawn—are being led along by devils. On the right hand a frog-devil is rolling a miser before him in a barrel spiked with pointed nails, like Regulus, and the miser is still hankering after the coins which have fallen from his grasp. In front a sack of gold is actually moving along, transformed into a devil. Anger is personified as an armed woman, accompanied by bears, chasing naked men who fall down on the ground. Over

** [1] See E. Michel, *Les Breughel*, Paris, 1892. See H. Dollmayr, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Representation of the Four Last Things' in the *Niederländische Malerei des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, in the *Jahrb. d. kunsthistor. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, xix. 284 ff. This author's incursions into the domain of theology and Church history are as unfortunate as his contributions to the history of art are valuable.

these men there falls a long knife, with the sharp side underneath. On the left a devil is roasting a victim on a spit, while a quarrelsome husband and wife are seething in the cauldron. Envy is represented by a lady with a turkey-cock crowing at her side. At the bottom of the picture stands a kettle representing a building of which the attic windows are eyes; one large window is the abyss through which the devils are seen inside. The whole plate is full of unbridled coarseness. Drunkenness is an obese woman sitting on a pig. Behind her a devil with a monk's hood is tapping wine from the barrel, and drinking it slowly out of a large pitcher. On the ground stands a windmill, resembling a spectral sphinx with eyes and open jaw. The windmill with its rapid motion, stretching out its wings in all directions, and yet fastened to one place, is an admirable figure of the devil who, with all his exertions, gets no forwarder. Finally, laziness is typified by a poor woman reposing on a sleeping donkey, while the devil is pulling her bed away from under her head. Another woman, wrapped up in bed, is being drawn round on a little chariot by one limping devil, and fed by another.[1] Another picture of Breughel exhibits former gourmands being cooked for a banquet in hell, nobles who oppressed their peasants being ploughed over like manure, besides 'so much else that is horrible, that it may well be asked how it was possible to invent all this.' 'It is a wonder,' says Van Mander of Breughel's hell-pictures, 'how much there is to be seen in them of gruesome spectres and hobgoblins,' and wonderful also how he was at home with flames, firebrands, fuming and roasting.[2]

[1] ** Wessely, *Die Gestalten des Todes und des Teufels*, pp. 109–110.

[2] Van Mander, Bl. 216[b].

In the great devil's kitchens too, which are attributed to Bosch, the damned souls are being cooked and roasted.[1]

Rubens also was no less blood-curdling in his paintings of hell-torments; he represents snakes, dragons, devils and monsters of all sorts attacking the damned souls, especially the women addicted to sensual pleasure, scratching, biting, devouring and burning them.[2]

Pictures such as these, outgrowths of an excited, delirious fancy, could not serve a religious end, even if they had been intended to do so; instead of awakening fear and trembling, and overawing the soul, they roused disgust, and dragged down into ridicule even the idea of the all-ruling divine righteousness.[3]

If even in religious art the most naked realism and naturalism prevailed, and the most dismal pictures were sought by preference, and the ugliest objects depicted, this was incomparably more the case in the treatment of secular matters from ordinary life.

Among the earlier artists also it was largely the habit to exhibit the many-sided life of the people and domestic life in pictures and miniatures, on glass-paintings, copper-prints, and woodcuts; and these

[1] 'Nowadays even artists themselves cannot perhaps understand how it was possible to produce such pictures. At that time there was without doubt a corresponding tendency in public feeling. These painters would certainly have done different work if these horrors had not been bought and admired; indeed, it is possible that approval and orders carried them on against their will in the direction once taken' (P. M. in Eggers, vii. 358).

[2] See Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, 1831, pp. 89–90; Michiels, ii. 379–404, and iii. 301–339; Förster, iii. 90. Adam Willaerts was especially 'distinguished in the painting of firebrands' (Houbraken, p. 31).

[3] See the treatise of P. M., *Der Teufel und seine Gesellen in der bildenden Kunst*, in Eggers, vii. 301, 316, 329, 345, 356, 409; and viii. 12, 20, 128, 141, 155.

works were characterised by German jocundity and fidelity, by fine observation, delicate humour, and not unfrequently by caustic satire,[1] but all these pictures bear quite a different character from the large majority of those, even those of highly gifted artists, dating from about the second third of the sixteenth century down to the Thirty Years' War.

Just as with the Greeks at the time of their decadence,[2] a threefold school of cabinet-painting came now to the front: genre, or still-life painting, the painting of nastiness, and the painting of indecency.

Sensuality, coarseness and ugliness were no longer restricted to a subordinate position, and used only as counterfoils to throw into stronger effect what was beautiful and noble, but they were considered in and for themselves legitimate objects of artistic representation. They were cultivated with particular zest. Art of this kind, however, was not calculated to ennoble everyday life, to promote joyousness and peaceful happiness, even if it did not, as was only too often the case, drag the people down to the lowest depths of vice.

There were, of course, many pictures also in which the mirthful element in the friendly intercourse of respectable men and women was harmlessly portrayed; but as a rule the artists moved among the lowest classes of society, delineated by preference all that was wildest and maddest, most licentious and unbridled, above all the most coarsely sensual incidents at weddings and village feasts. The low taste of the artists showed the coarseness of their feelings and the small amount of moral sense possessed by them; especially when they

[1] See our statements, vol. i. pp. 250–261. [2] See above, pp. 83, 84.

reproduced in their pictures what they had witnessed in the vilest haunts of iniquity.

To whom, asks Walter Rivius in 1548, can the picture of 'a drunken, frenzied peasant vomiting behind a hedge give pleasure?' And yet 'nowadays there are numbers of disgusting fellows who, to their shame as painters, draw and paint such monstrous things—things that ought indeed to horrify a right-minded person.' [1]

Dürer himself complained that 'many artists choose what is ugly rather than what is beautiful, and this habit is especially rampant with us.' [2]

The peasant scenes of Hans Sebald Beham, one of the most skilful engravers, include many which are vulgar in the extreme.[3] Among the subjects which had already come into vogue in the fifteenth century, and which later on became immensely popular, was the representation of bad and masterful wives: one woman is depicted flogging her good man; another with a whip in her hand riding on the neck of her husband, who is crouching on hands and feet; a third, also holding a whip, is sitting in a basket which her husband is obliged to draw along with a rope; a fourth is dragging her man by the hair in front of the house, and at the same time dealing out blows to him with a stick, and so forth. George Penz, Hans Brosamer, Martin Zeissinger, Virgil Solis, Balthasar Jenichen, and other engravers, used their art 'for the counterfeiting of suchlike amiable wifely deeds.' [4]

[1] Rivius, p. 443.

[2] Dürer, *Vier Bücher von menschl. Proportion*, 7, II[a].

[3] Bartsch, viii. 179 ff., Nos. 162, 163, 165, 174, 177. See also Von Lichtenberg, p. 78 ff.

[4] Bartsch, vi. 268, 277, 379; further, vii. 221, 317, and viii. 350, 463.

Jenichen once depicted seven women fighting for a pair of trousers.[1] In a drawing of Urs Graf, Aristotle is seen crouching on all fours and serving as riding-horse to his mistress, a wanton, light-minded young woman.[2] But foremost in inexhaustible production of unedifying scenes, wild carousals and brawls of drunken peasants, monsters and deformities, was the Dutch artist Peter Breughel, nicknamed Peasant-Breughel; 'he loved best to paint what nobody likes to see in life;' a characteristic specimen of his style of art is his 'naked figure of Luxury on the lap of a bestial creature.'[3]

To his countryman Hieronymus Bosch are ascribed the famous *Fett und Wurstfresser* ('Fat and Sausage-eaters'); in one picture there figure no less than thirty-

and ix. 77, 277, and x. 48, 51, 52; Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, iii. 102, 256, 323, 413, 426; Heller, pp. 849, 893; Andresen, ii. 179. The female rider who is managing her husband with bridle and whip is drawn quite naked. See Sotzmann, in Eggers, ii. 302. ** A 'Game at Cards,' attributed to Peter Flötner (in part copied by Hirth, *Kulturhistor. Bilderbuch*, i. 305 ff.), contains, among other things, two fighting women—a woman beating her husband with a rod, two pigs eating with spoons from a plate on which lies a lump of dirt, two pigs turning a roasting-spit on which a lump of dirt is stuck, two pigs with a draughtboard on which lies a lump of dirt, and even worse things (S. Lange, *Flötner*, p. 27 ff.). The same writer remarks (p. 17): 'With Flötner dirt is not introduced, as with the other minor masters, in due connection with the rest of the composition, but in an isolated manner, and evidently intentionally so; for instance, in the above-mentioned pack of cards and in the coping of the marvellous portal design by Reimer (fig. 10), and on a drinking-bowl lately sold by auction in Dresden, which bears as signature in the right-hand corner a heap of excrement pierced with an arrow, a graving-tool, and a chisel. Here, as in the 'Human Alphabet,' the signature is suggestive of the artist's dirty mind.

[1] Andresen, ii. 181. Refractory wives were also a favourite theme of the poets of that period, as we shall show later on.

[2] Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 207–208. Concerning this legend of Aristotle, see Sotzmann in Eggers, ii. 302–303.

[3] Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 255, Nos. 1493–1518; cf. 440 to 251.

one cripples.[1] Even the most harmless animals, ducks and fowls, crabs and sea fish, are transformed into uncanny creatures, able to cause fear and shuddering not only by the grimness and dangerousness of their appearance, but by their mere presence. The spell of this witchcraft is also cast over objects of other sorts: hatchets and choppers start up in a threatening manner; jugs and pitchers stretch out claw-like fingers around them; tumble-down cabins squint wickedly out of window eyes from under thatched roofs; elfin ships creak along to the shore; naked trees send out grotesque snouts, and hills raise on high now a thick sodden nose, now some other limb or feature protruding through their green mantles of turf. No less is the magic with which this artist in unheard-of ways transforms everything that possesses human shape: ears grow like the claws of birds; pheasants' tails hang down from human necks and swing behind dwarfish human feet; hands walk, feet clutch hold, not to speak of what is still more repulsive.[2] The Augsburg engraver Daniel Hopfer was also ambitious of showing his skill in every imaginable ugly, apish, disgusting kind of picture.[3]

[1] Rathgeber, p. 126, Nos. 516, 516[b], 523, 527. Cf. Schorn, *Kunstblatt*, 1882, p. 217 ff.; Michiels, iii. 41.

[2] P. M. in Eggers, vii. 356–357.

[3] See Falke, *Geschmack*, pp. 119–120. Even in the representation of monsters and spectres 'our country presents an appalling example of how little mere arbitrary caprice can effect without any actual artistic power.' 'There is nothing more sensually repulsive, bearing on this point, than the plates (a long festive procession, or procession of gypsies) of Wendel Dietterlein' (see above, p. 108 ff.). 'This want of creative genius, which perhaps is the great cause of the incapacity for distinguishing between genuine fancy and what is merely bizarre, is undoubtedly the worst fault of this period, a period which, in other artistic respects—for instance in technique and truth to nature—has produced such highly meritorious work' (Eggers, viii. 141).

The court painter and engraver to the Elector of Saxony, Henry Gödig, executed the following four plates: (1) A huntsman made up of hunting implements and heads of animals of the chase, with a stag-head for his nose. (2) A bird-catcher consisting of implements for snaring birds, with an owl for his nose. (3) A fisherman with a frog for his nose. (4) A musician formed of musical instruments, with a drinking-cup beside him.[1] Peter Breughel painted four giant heads as pictures of the seasons, and each head was made up of the products of the particular season it typified : spring of leaves and flowers ; summer and autumn of fruits and ears of corn ; winter of thorns and straw ; so that when seen closely they looked quite dreadful.[2] A Bacchus of Balthasar Jenichen appears in peasant dress with tattered hose, crowned with grapes, apples and turnips, and holding a bowl in his hand ; at his girdle hangs a sausage ; from a hole in his purse pieces of money are falling on the ground.[3]

Cornelius Tenissen represented intemperance by a man with a pig's head, surrounded with vine-leaves, playing-cards and dice ; a barrel forms his body.[4]

Altogether the one great aim of the artists was ' to find out everything that was terrifying and wonderful

[1] Andresen, i. 93, 94. ** Concerning the ' gruesome figures ' of P. Flötner, see Lange, *Flötner*, p. 163. See also in the same place Flötner's devil figures, by means of which the representative of faith is being seduced, and which ' would do honour to an H. Bosch, a P. Breughel, or a D. Teniers.' Monstrosities were also used for the decoration of guns and artillery. Duke Henry of Saxony, for instance, had his artillery ornamented with pictures from drawings of Cranach, which his secretary and biographer, Freydinger, describes as ' shameless and disgusting ' (Lindau, p. 184).

[2] Von der Hagen, *Briefe in die Heimat*, i. 104–105.

[3] Andresen, ii. 168.

[4] Heller, p. 864.

in heaven and on earth, and to depict it in quite new and artistic fashion, for the curiosity, the terror, the anguish, and the horror of mankind,' on engravings and woodcuts, to be spread broadcast among the people. For instance, they represented all sorts of wondrous celestial apparitions that had been seen in Nuremberg, Cologne, Worms, Leipzig and elsewhere; a 'new fierce and gruesome battle' between two armies in the air; a man's head with snakes for hair, which was found in an egg; a boy sweating blood, and a winged serpent in the heavens at Augsburg; a spring of blood near Beyelstein; extraordinary bearded grapes, which appeared in the Palatinate as a sign of divine wrath; strange prodigies of birth, which happened in Saxony; apparitions in the sky and exorcism of devils, as well as the 'everywhere highly famed' demoniacal apparitions and other signs of wrath in the Mark of Brandenburg; wonderful herrings, white whales, mullets, caught in Holstein, in Silesia, the Kattegat, and other places, and on the bodies of some of them inscriptions which proclaimed 'the great and high omnipotence of God, above all wisdom and beyond our reason to apprehend.'[1]

The Basle preacher John Herold presented 'all godly Christians' in the year 1567 with hundreds of 'beautiful pictures of God's wonder-works in strange creatures, abortions, and apparitions in the heavens, on the earth, and in the water.' Amongst these there is a calf and a goat with a man's head, a child with

[1] See concerning these and similar objects the plates mentioned by Drugulin, pp. 19, 24, 30, 31, 32, 38, 44, 53, 60, 61, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 78, 83, 85, 86, 87, 96, 105, 106, 114, 116, 117; Andresen, ii. 317. Concerning 'an animal prodigy born of a cow, which makes everybody think horrible thoughts,' 'counterfeited' by Cranach, so says Bugenhagen (1547), see Schuchardt, *Cranach*, i. 184, observation.

horns, another child with a monkey's face, a third ' with a mouth and nose like an ox, and dogs' heads at its elbows ; ' and many other such marvellous works.[1] John George Schenck of Grafenberg also published in 1610 a ' Wonder-book,' which contains over a hundred horrible ' Kontrafacturen : ' for instance, a lion and a cow with a human head ; a pig ' with face, forefeet, and shoulders of a man ; also two-headed, four-handed, three- and four-footed children ; children of both sexes, and what was still more dreadful, children which looked like unreasoning animals, bears, hounds, pigs, monkeys, and even the devil himself ; ' and three pictures of ' a wonderful, unheard of, memorable story of a stone-child, which had been carried twenty-eight years in its mother's womb, and had grown into a whole stone and hard rock, which is a wonder of wonders, quite strange and rare.' ' One such general example should be enough,' says the author, ' to stamp this whole wonder-book of strange abortions with special glory and excellence.' [2]

The representation also of ' the terrible devil's brides, witches and sorceresses ' came more and more into vogue. We are shown the witches calling the devils to them, and either coquetting or fighting with them, or else we see them preparing their salves, or getting themselves dressed for the Sabbath. The witches' dance and even the witches' Sabbath were also favourite subjects for pictures.[3] One of the most

[1] We shall return to this work later on.

[2] Schenck, *Wunderbuch*, Preface iii., and pp. 113–116. Readers should especially compare the pictures at pp. 6, 20, 27, 29, 53, 62 ff., 73, 85–89, 99, 109, 114. At p. 91 there is a picture of ' two bodies which have grown together at the back, the one the body of a man, the other of a dog.'

[3] Bartsch, vii. 82, 187, 319, 447 ; also viii. 280, 490, and ix. 463–464.

remarkable series of engravings of this sort was presented 'to all true-hearted Christians' in 1594 in a 'Book of Witches,' by Thomas Sigfridus: in sixteen scenes this artist represents the whole proceedings of the witches.[1] With the same fulness of detail the artists depicted all the frightful tortures which witches, magicians, and other criminals had to endure 'for the needful consolation of godly Christians, who learn thereby that the magistrates are ready with their punishments.' 'And Christian parents,' said the physicist and alchemist, Jodokus Krautblatt, in 1553, 'must be careful to stick up all these many terrible spectacles in their houses for a wholesome warning to their children, lest the like should happen to them if they are ill-advised and godless.'[2] On a woodcut of the year 1540 there are four unhappy beings, naked and with frightfully mangled limbs, half in the form of animals and fastened to four burning stakes. The inscription underneath says: 'On account of many and various wicked misdoings these four persons, as here

Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, iii. 120, No. 56. The vignettes to most witch-books should also be compared; for instance, those to the *Theatrum de veneficis*. 'The prince of darkness, who disappears gradually from art, is now, characteristically enough, succeeded by his terrestrial subjects, the witches. In the place of religious and moral antitheses there now comes superstition without antithesis. Hell closes, and we behold only the Blocksberg, or, rather, the preparations for it: the bubbling of the ill-famed salves and ointments, the gathering together of their uncanny ingredients under gallows and at the crossing of roads (where we chance to make the acquaintance of a wretched-looking little man, with root-fibres for hair, arms and belt, the mystic mandrake); and, lastly, the departure on brooms, the old ones clothed, the young ones naked, as in Goethe' (Eggers, viii. 20). ** For representations of witches by Dürer and other artists of the sixteenth century, see Wessely, *Gestalten des Todes und des Teufels*, p. 112 ff.

[1] Sigfridus, Bl. 2–3 to the engraving added at the end.

[2] *Etlich Gedenkzeichen und wolmeinende Warnung* (1553), Bl. C^2.

painted, were punished with fire at Wittenberg on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year 1540; namely, an old woman and her son, who had given themselves up to the devil, but especially the woman, who had had much shameful intercourse with the devil, had for some years practised sorcery, raised storms and stopped fine weather, and had also worked evil to numbers of poor people by poisoned powders,' and so forth. 'And the only reason why this picture has been made, is because there are still numbers of these dangerous evil-doers in the land, who go about as beggars, usurers, hangman's servants, and even as herdsmen, so that the magistrates may keep a watchful eye, and harm be thus averted from the poor people.'[1] A large coloured woodcut of 1586 showed how, on October 31 of that year, the 'Stump-Peter,' a prodigious criminal, who could 'change himself into a wolf,' and who, as a wolf, 'had torn in pieces thirteen children, two women and a man,' had writhed on the gallows wheel at Bedburg, how his heart had been torn out of his body, how he had been beheaded, and finally burnt beside two witches.[2]

All such representations, distributed among the people, tended not only to the demoralisation of taste and character, but also and especially to the encouragement of superstition and belief in witchcraft.

Side by side with the horrible and the gruesome,

[1] In the superscription and at the end there are Bible texts. A woodcut in my possession.

[2] In the *Thesaurus Picturarum* in the Court library at Darmstadt, vol. *Einzüge*, fol. 5. In the vol. *Calumniæ*, on fol. 77 there is a 'veritable and actual representation of how Dr. Nicholas Krell, on October 9, 1601, was carried, sitting on a chair, from the town hall to the Neumarkt on a chair and beheaded.' The execution of Silvan (see our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 157–160) in this same Thesaurus, vol. *Palatina*, i. 117.

immorality gained a wider and wider footing in art, as indeed in the whole of the life of the period. The saying of Plato comes aptly to mind: 'Art goes up and down with the spirit of the world.'

The pictures of saints, wrote George Wizel, in 1535, are 'torn down, hacked in pieces and burnt;' on the other hand all sorts of pictures are produced which cannot move anyone to godliness: on gates and walls there hang 'drunken soldiers, women bathing, dances, card-players, banquets' and other mundane things, by which many people are filled with impure thoughts and enticed into wickedness. 'With uncleanness of this sort they adorn their dwellings, and inveigh against those who decorate the churches with pictures of the true old saints.'[1] The Roman Pliny, said another Catholic contemporary, had complained of the indecent painters; 'if, however, Pliny could see how the houses are painted nowadays, what sort of beautiful pictures are hung on the walls, what sort of sculpture adorns the bathing-rooms and private apartments of the princes and great lords, . . . what would he say?' The pictures of God and the saints are often carried away out of the churches, as if danger of idolatry and impure thoughts lurked behind them. 'But the best and most renowned artists are not condemned, but loaded from foreign lands with great sums of money and much encouragement, when they paint bedrooms, sitting-rooms, vaults, &c., with naked figures, and hang up all sorts of indecent illustrations in the most private apartments, in which the Heavenly Father and Creator of all things should be communed with and prayed to in secret from the bottom of the heart and with a pure

[1] Quoted in Döllinger, *Reformation*, i. (2nd ed.) 101.

spirit.'[1] 'Most of the painters,' wrote Hippolytus Guarinoni, 'seem to think that art cannot be expressed in painting save by naked figures;' such indecent painters, he declares, are 'sheer implements of vice and profligacy, huntsmen of the devil, who by these nets catch the game and drive it up to him.'[2]

Among the Protestants also there were many who lamented 'the grievous and unspeakable misfortune that art, which ought to serve the Lord God and all righteousness, should have become a minister of sin.' 'Anyone who has the opportunity,' so Karl Doltz preached in 1557, 'of seeing what serves for decoration in the homes of numbers of princes, lords, luxurious merchants, and even artisans, what sort of pictures are sold at annual fairs, and carried round about by hawkers, letter-carriers, strolling players, and other itinerant vendors, must recognise that present-day art is a school of immorality.'[3] Vadian wrote as follows: 'And it is well known that images and all pictures have been introduced and increased in number only during

[1] Fickler, Tractat Bl. 60b–70. The treatise, translated by Fickler from the Latin and enlarged by supplements, had appeared first at Paris in 1549, published by Gabriel Puits-Herbault, a monk at Fontévrault; see Dejob, p. 204.

[2] Guarinoni, pp. 231, 232.

[3] Sermon preached at Erfurt on the day of our Lord's Ascension (1557), Bl. C4. 'The town council of Leipzig took into custody at Michaelmas, 1571, a hawker who at the fair had offered for sale shameful paintings and pictures to women, girls, and children.' The pictures taken from him, together with those found on other vendors, 'were publicly burnt in the market by the hangman' (A. Kirchhoff, in the *Archiv für Gesch. des Buchhandels*, x. 124–125). The Elector Christian II. of Saxony decreed that the pupils of the *Schulpforta* should neither buy nor have in their rooms 'scandalous pictures' (Bertuch, p. 144, No. 21). At the Ratisbon Diet of 1594 indecent pictures were sold publicly (Guarinoni, p. 303). The Emperor Ferdinand II. had many obscene paintings burnt (Dejob, p. 358).

the last hundred years: now painters and sculptors, pandering to our bad morals and style of dressing, represent females with such indecency that, gazing at them, one is more inclined to sin than to prayer.' [1]

The preacher Erasmus Grüninger, in a sermon on morality, preached in 1605 in the court chapel at Stuttgart against 'all those painters, sculptors, engravers, and designers who reproduced all sorts of licentious scenes, pictures of Venus and Cupid and other wanton and objectionable subjects, calculated to corrupt innocent hearts.' [2] Amorous scenes from mythology of the most repulsive kind were the favourite subjects of art, and by the manner of their treatment they not unfrequently developed into regular brothel pictures. Aldegrever could not even depict the leap of the Roman hero, Marcus Curtius, without introducing five naked women.[3]

[1] ** Watt, i. 349 note.

[2] Guarinoni, pp. 228–229. ** Very improper scenes are depicted on the so-called Emperor's house at Hildesheim, especially on the side of the building looking towards the adjoining farmhouse, and also on the façade of the town hall at Bremen. The frieze on the so-called 'Brusttuch,' in Goslar, built in 1526, is, to put it mildly, very coarse. See also Von Hesner-Alteneck, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 118 ff. Objectionable pictures even found admittance to the palaces of ecclesiastical princes. Concerning the Salzburg archbishop, Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, described in vol. ix. pp. 203, 204, see Mayr-Deisinger, p. 96 (but cf. also p. 182). The frescoes in the Castello del Buon Consiglio, the seat of the Prince-Bishop of Trent, contained such offensive nudities that before the assembling of the Council it was thought fit to paint them over in part with clothes. Cf. *Il Castello del Buon Consiglio nel 1780*, in a MS. of Francesco Bartoli (Nozze Zippel, Trento, 1890), p. 25.

[3] For a clearer idea of the mass of these objectionable representations from mythology, from old sagas and history, and from every-day life, readers are specially referred to Bartsch, iii. 43, 54, 102–103, 105–110, 122–125, 138–139, 145, 147, 150–151, 155, 168–169, 176, 180, 204, 234–235, 243–249, 252, 268, 284–286; vii. 85–87, 318, 346, 406–409, 419–420, 522, 524, 527, 541, 544; viii. 61–63, 90–92, 98, 104, 154, 159, 161, 177, 202–203, 241, 244–245, 263, 278–279, 281–282, 285, 348–349, 368, 373,

Amongst German painters Lucas Cranach was notorious for the depth of degradation to which he

386, 411, 413, 462–463, 513, 536–538, 540, 544–545 (the plates of the two Behams also in Rosenberg, p. 83 ff., Nos. 16, 17, 28–30, 32–36, 41, 44, 53, 55–56, 58, 65 ; p. 91 ff., Nos. 4, 6 ; p. 94, No. 9, 13–15, 17 ; p. 99 ff., Nos. 68, 82, 107, 108, 113, 114, 154–161, 271, 272) ; further, 9, 21–22, 36, 47, 49, 54, 64–65, 76–77, 91, 112, 119–120, 131, 136, 163, 241, 249, 256, 277, 497, 510–512, 513, 584 ; Andresen, ii. 86–87, 169, and iii. 230 ; Passavant, iii. 7, 20, 87, 102, 253, 255, 298, 319, and iv. 52–53, 55, 83, 93, 130, 284–289 ; Drugulin, *Histor. Bilderatlas*, Part I. (Leipzig, 1863), p. 97 ff., Nos. 2490, 2492, 2511–2515. (For the rest of this note see vol. vi. of the German, p. 164, note 3 ff.) ** Cf. Von Lichtenberg, p. 37 ff. For Nicholas Manuel's quantities of nude figures—a naked girl with a plumed hat, another with a biretta and neckband, a third with flowing hair, a fourth with a biretta trimmed with feathers and a chain on her neck, a fifth with a staff, a sixth with a hat and neckband, a naked woman floating in the air, a naked woman playing the violin, a woman with a saint's halo (!) holding her petticoats high up, and so forth, see Baechtold, cxiii.–cxix. ** B. Haendke (*Nicholas Manuel Deutsch as Artist.* Frauenfeld, 1889) considers Manuel's delight in the nude and his 'refreshing sensuality' (p. 55) altogether justifiable. It is difficult to understand how the author can deny (p. 31) that Manuel painted indecent scenes by preference. Haendke contradicts himself by the very examples which he cites. Of the picture 'Die Umarmung des Todes und einer Dirne' even Haendke must allow that it is 'a demoniacal, fiery, ultra-lascivious conception.' In an article on Urs Graf, praising the direction of Manuel's taste, Edward His speaks of the 'frequently very lascivious character of his drawings' and of his 'preference for the frivolous.' 'Nudities are not only predominant in his hand-drawings,' but also in the title-page decorations which he executed for printers (Von Zahn, *Jahrbücher*, vi. 180–187). A border designed by Urs Graf in 1519 ('Pyramus and Thisbe') is unfit for description (Butsch, i. 34 ; cf. Woltmann, *Holbein*, i. 209–210). To what extent nudities figured in book decoration is shown, for instance, by the alphabet in woodcut executed at Frankfort in 1542, which, with few exceptions, contains only naked figures or love scenes (Butsch, ii. 48 and plate 46). Concerning the nudities of Hans Baldung Grien, see Woltmann, *Art in Alsace*, p. 289 ; for those of Adam Elzheimer, see Seibt, *A. Elzheimer*, pp. 70–71. Amorous old men or women in Bartsch, iii. 122–124, 209 ; further, vii. 102–103, 544, and ix. 152 ; Passavant, iii. 7, 20, 319 ; Heller, pp. 299, 367, 445, 823, 849, 871, 885, 900. As early as the fifteenth century Israel von Mecken painted amorous old people ; cf. Bartsch, vi. 266, *Buhlschaftsszenen aus damaliger Zeit*, vi. 88, 270, 378. Concerning the increasing licentiousness in such representations in the sixteenth century, see Von Rettberg, *Kulturgesch. Briefe*, pp. 251–266 ; Bartsch, viii. 90. The so-called Anabaptist bath of naked men and

dragged art down by his nudities, his Venus figures, his sleeping nymphs, &c., as also by his lampoons

women by Henry Aldegrever is criticised by Wessely, pp. 58–59. Cornelius Cornelissen painted a whole party of unclothed men and women sitting at a banquet (Förster, iii. 28). As regards the engraver, Albert Altdorfer, Waagen (*Gesch. der Malerei*, i. 239) speaks of his 'naked figures taken from ancient mythology, such as Neptune, Venus, the winged woman,' as 'tasteless and repulsive in the extreme.' On the other hand, another art critic finds 'the awakening sensuousness' in Altdorfer 'always quite charming. But,' he says, 'we can find no charm in Penz's and Beham's broad-hipped heroines, temptingly spreading out their limbs, and showing no more of antique gracefulness or Venetian luxuriancy than the wish for them' (Eggers, viii. 12). Hans Sebald Beham sets up naked women 'to teach morality.' In a series of drawings he attempts to prove that 'death does away with all human beauty,' but he falls into lasciviousness. Nor is his trespassing on æsthetic decency excused by the saying: 'Mors ultima linea rerum' ('Death ends all'). Occasionally S. Beham puts hypocrisy aside: thus he recommends the fearless portraying of female beauty in an etching representing a winged Venus with a blindfolded Cupid, and bearing the inscription 'Audaces Venus ipsa juvat' ('Venus herself helps those who dare') (Svoboda, *Beil. Allg. Zeit.* 1885, No. 220). The most revolting brothel painter was Hans Torrentius, of Amsterdam: 'Les libertins mêmes avoient horreur de ses compositions' (Deschamps, pp. 382–383; Houbraken, pp. 63, 212–213; Fiorillo, iii. 204–205; Michiels, iii. 336). ** Of Hans Sebald Beham, Lützow writes, in the *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst*, v. 205–206: 'The imagination of the artist goes off, on the one hand into cold allegories, on the other into nudity and obscenity. The more than coarse taste of the time may have called forth these things. Hans Sebald, however, was only too ready to gratify this taste. He is not content with mythological representations from the cycle of Venus, which are legitimate subjects for such treatment, but he has plates of quite undisguised naturalism, such as "Night" (Plate 153), in which nudity is depicted entirely for its own sake, and with the most scrupulous accuracy.' ** See also Von Lichtenberg, p. 77 ff. With regard to Altdorfer, cf. the careful monograph of Max Friedländer, *Albrecht Altdorfer der Maler von Regensburg*, Leipzig, 1891. 'With Peter Flötner,' says Lange (p. 160), 'the nude plays, on the whole, a less important part than one might expect considering the general coarseness of his conceptions. In some of his works—for instance, the bas-relief of the "Holzschuhersche Pokal" (a bowl in the shape of a sabot)—he has certainly gone to full length in this direction, but in his Plaquettes, in his women at any rate, he avoids complete nudity more than many of his contemporaries; indeed, he actually shows a striking inclination for covering up hands. He evidently desired to place no difficulties in the way of his Plaquettes being used for the decoration of church utensils, though this was certainly not the

against the papacy.[1] As an old man of seventy-four his depraved taste still appears in his 'Jungbrunnen' ('Fountain of Youth').

The entire tendency of art stood in complete antagonism not only to Christian doctrine and the teaching of the Old Testament, but also to the theories and practice of the genuine classic antique. It brought back to sight the fashions of the degenerate Greek and Roman times.[2]

The degradation of art was very closely connected with the demoralised lives of numbers of the artists.[3] The Swiss painter Urs Graf, according to the evidence

first object that he had in view. For the rest he thoroughly understands the art of expressing or suggesting nudity more by the clothing of his figures than by leaving them unclothed. Not only does he cover them with diaphanous drapery, which clings closely to the form, but there is a kind of coquetry in its arrangement; it is opened or pushed aside in certain places in order to show parts of the naked body.' 'Least of all delightful,' Lange goes on to say (p. 163), 'is the third and specially prominent feature in his (Flötner's) art—preference for coarseness and obscenity. The characteristic example in this respect is his "bowl imitating a wooden shoe," of which, however, it is fair to say that it is not known how far the decorative figures may have been made to order.' Lange then draws attention to a few modifying circumstances—for instance, the coarseness of the age—and concludes thus: 'A strongly expressed sensual vein cannot be denied in our master, and I also seem to scent a certain suppressed lasciviousness in many of his female figures; but the most repulsive and coarse productions which he has bequeathed to us must be considered rather in the light of the period than as the outcome of an unclean personal character.' The above-mentioned shameless representation of Faith (p. 214) by Flötner can scarcely be excused. A. Weese, *Der schöne Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* (Munich. 1900), says of Cranach: 'Investigation of his works can but give as its best result an unravelling of complicated historical conditions, only in the very rarest cases does it afford any enjoyment from the point of view of art history. His discursive manner of treating mythological subjects is less of a stumbling-stone than his trivial, philistine conception of the human body.'

[1] See above, pp. 56, 57.

[2] See above, p. 83 ff.

[3] See above, p. 48.

of the police reports, was 'not unfrequently involved in drunken nocturnal rows and quarrels.' On November 20, 1522, he was obliged, after undergoing punishment, to swear a solemn oath, 'to abstain from such disgraceful proceedings, from adultery and other misdemeanours,' and to give up 'shaking, beating, starving, and in other ways maltreating his wife.' The following year he was again in prison.[1] Virgil Solis 'was long held in memory as a good boon-companion;'[2] the designers Samson and David Dienecker, sons of the famous Jost Dienecker, who died in 1548, were sentenced for thieving and adultery.[3] The Dutch painter, James Barbari, one of the first painters of nudity on this side of the Alps, led a licentious life, and had at one time exercised a very evil influence on the two Behams and on George Penz.[4]

These three painters were banished from Nuremberg at the end of January 1525, 'because they had shown themselves to be more godless and heathenish than anyone had been known to be before.' Before a court of justice the two Behams had declared that they could not believe in the Holy Scriptures, nor yet in baptism or in the Lord's Supper. To the question whether he and his brother had expressed the opinion that 'no one ought to work, that goods should be divided, and that they despised outward authority,' Barthel Beham answered that he recognised no authority but that of Almighty God. Veit Wirsperger, cross-examined

[1] E. His in Von Zahn's *Jahrbücher*, v. 259 ff.

[2] Quaden von Kinckelbach, p. 430; see Pallmann, p. 9.

[3] Butsch, i. 16–17.

[4] *De Candito*, p. 219. Cf. concerning Barbari, pp. 6–7, 284 ff., 302 ff. 'Jacob de Barbari est le véritable rénovateur de ce nouveau type du beau chaste (!) et voluptueux, que l'art a vêtu de sa seule nudité' (p. 399).

concerning his intercourse with the brothers Beham, deposed that 'Barthel said he knew no Christ, and could say nothing about Him; it was just the same to him as when he heard tell of Duke Ernest, said to have gone away into a mountain. The brother Sebald was no less obstinate and devilish, and it was a grievous thing that Christian people should live with them as their wives.' George Penz said out frankly before the court of justice: 'He felt certainly to some extent that there was a God, but what exactly to believe about Him he did not know; about Christ he held no opinions; he could not believe in the Holy Scriptures; he did not believe in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.' He, too, recognised no earthly authority; 'he knew of no Lord,' he said, 'but God alone.' 'These three painters,' it was said in the decision of the court, 'are beyond others proud, insolent, and great in the opinion of the public, and it is therefore well to consider what noxious poison they may sow and spread more now even than before.' [1] These 'godless painters' of Nuremberg were associated with the Westphalian painter and engraver Henry Aldegrever, who at one time had worked for John of Leyden, the king of the Anabaptists at Münster, and had been sentenced to punishment by the magistrate at Soest for painting an indecent picture.[2]

The conduct of numbers of Dutch painters was indeed notoriously bad. Jan Mabuse, who was first to follow the lead of Barbari in introducing from Italy

[1] *Verhörsprotocoll*, but not quite complete, in Kolde, in the *Kirchengeschichtlichen Studien*, pp. 243–249. See also our remarks, vol. iv. pp. 109, 110. ** And A. Bauch, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, pp. 20, 194 ff.

[2] Gehrken, pp. 8–9.

the art of 'illustrating stories with all sorts of naked figures and indecent rhymes,' led an extremely scandalous life.[1] Francis Floris, the so-called 'Flemish Raphael,' who had over 120 pupils, ranked as the 'most notorious of all debauchees.' All 'votaries of Bacchus' frequented his society, and he 'was considered equally great both as drinker and painter.' Cornelius of Gouda and Cornelius Molenaer were also renowned as mighty topers, and Adam van Oort, Joachim Patenier and Hans Torrentius as rakes.[2]

The 'Schilderbuch' of Charles van Mander, published in 1604, throws the most melancholy light on the morals prevalent among the painters. The author, himself a painter, admonishes his fellow-artists not to give themselves up to bestial drunkenness, or to take the lives of others; not to fight out their quarrels with fists and knives, and to fly at each other with abusive language as is the custom among the fishwives on the market-place. The young painters should make it

[1] Van Mander, Bl. 225; see p. 235.

[2] *Ibid.* Bl. 227b, 239–240, 256b. Details concerning the frightful drinking capacity of Francis Floris are given at Bl. 242b 243; Deschamps, pp. 229, 382–383; cf. Michiels, iii. 54–55, 143–145, 172–175, 217, 299, 314, and iv. 42, 44. Of the older Christian school of painting Michiels (iii. 54–55) says: 'Nulle ombre ne ternit leur image, la gloire l'éclaire de purs rayons.' On the other hand: 'Avec Jean de Maubeuge le spectacle change; il inaugure la débauche au sein des ateliers flamands, la consacre par son mérite et entraîne sur ses pas une foule avinée. D'autres scènes vont maintenant frapper nos yeux; un grand nombre d'artistes poseront devant nous, l'œil hagard, les coudes sur la table, remplissant leur chope jusqu'au bord, débraillés, humides de la sueur des cabarets, psalmodiant ou hurlant quelque chanson grisoise, la bouche mal essuyée, la coiffure de travers, et tenant à la main leur pipe fidèle.' 'On a voulu,' says Michiels (iii. 55), 'rendre douteuse, en Belgique et en Hollande, la réalité de ces mœurs grossières . . . mais l'histoire est inexorable et la tentative a échoué. Mille preuves, mille circonstances réfutent les hâbleries des patriotes néerlandais.'

their aim to see that the common saying among the people, *Hoe Schilder hoe wilder* (the more painter the more savage), became a thing of the past, and that it should no more be said, 'most of the painters are the worst good-for-nothings:' 'coarse, dissolute barbarians' had no right to the name of artist.[1]

[1] Van Mander, Bl. 2ᵇ–3ᵇ.

CHAPTER XII

MUSIC, CHURCH HYMNS AND SACRED SONG

At the close of the Middle Ages Dutch-German music enjoyed very remarkable eminence;[1] the influence of the great masters of that time dominated nearly the whole of the sixteenth century. Musical literature increased proportionately.[2]

One of the greatest masters of music was Henry Isaak, the 'symphonist' of the chapel of the Emperor Maximilian I. Among his motets two compositions arranged for six voices, and glorifying the highest ecclesiastical and the highest worldly power—the Pope and the Emperor—are regarded as art works of the very first rank. His revision of the offices for the Sundays and festivals of the Church year, which appeared first in 1555, contains the most instructive examples for the study of the Gregorian choral and figured counterpoint; it is prized by connoisseurs of music as one of the most precious monuments of the musical past. A considerable portion of this work was completed by Isaak's pupil, Louis Senfl of Basel-Augst, who for several decades, up to his death in 1555, was choir-master to Duke William IV. of Bavaria.

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 264–273.

[2] In the catalogues of the fairs which begin with the year 1564, the record of musical writings published from 1564 to 1618 is: 678 in Latin, 482 in German, 136 in Italian, 49 in French. Collected from Schwetschke, pp. 1–69.

His motets, both as regards their emotional or dramatic expression and their artistic technique, may be ranked as the best of what strict, closely knit, polyphonic treatment (or method) could produce in Germany during the first half of the sixteenth century, and still later on. One of the finest is the five-voiced hymn to Mary, 'Ave rosa sine spinis,' a veritable 'Maria im Rosenhag' ('Mary among the Roses'). His compositions of the Magnificat in the eight Church modes have become the standard classic form for this kind of music. Senfl was a sincere believer, and a pious, humble-minded, honourable man. In his German songs of a religious character, especially in the four-part song 'Eternal God, at whose decree the Son came down to earth,' there breathes a power of faith, a depth and purity of sentiment such as have scarcely been surpassed in any of the songs of that period.[1]

After the death of Senfl, Roland de Lattre (Orlandus Lassus) from Hainault became director of Chamber music in 1557, and in 1562 head choir-master to the court of Albert V. at Munich. Albert was famous in German and Italian lands 'as one of the most generous patrons of music;' he took pains to procure from out the length and breadth of Europe 'excellent good singers who would be an ornament to the chapel.'[2] The choir-master Orlandus was one of the most

[1] From Ambros, iii. 380–389, 405–409; Naumann, i. 404. Concerning the composer, Paul Hofheimer of Radstadt, in the Salzburg Alps († 1537), his pupil, Ottmar Luscinius wrote: 'All his works are clear and intelligent. There is nothing dry and cold in them, and nobody is ever tired of listening to this truly angelic harmony. However full and complex the harmony, the style is always clear, fiery, and powerful' (Bäumker, *Tonkunst*, p. 161).

[2] K. Trautmann in the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 218–219; cf. p. 286.

prolific composers ever known. He advanced polyphony on towards its highest perfection, and gained for his own Church music in the North the same importance which Palestrina enjoyed in the South. His Seven Penitential Psalms especially are unequalled for depth, purity and beauty.[1]

His Masses, almost fifty in number, bear throughout the stamp of religious elevation and dignity. A devout venerator of the Holy Virgin, he set the Magnificat to music more than a hundred times, so that, as his son puts it, 'it would seem as though he had wished to devote the whole of his musical art to the laudation of Holy Mary;' 'by means of the lovely and devout harmonies of these songs he hoped to inspire as many people as possible with veneration and love for the most blessed Virgin.' His four-, five-, and six-part German Church hymns, 'Vater Unser im Himmelreich,' 'Aus hartem Wehe klagt,' 'In vil Trübsal und Versuchung,' and others, may also be reckoned as masterpieces of sacred song. In his private life this homely German, 'this peaceful, quiet, modest-minded man,' was a model of blameless conduct. At the Bavarian princely court he counted among the most highly esteemed personages; he stood in friendly relations with the highest spiritual and secular dignitaries; Pope Gregory XIII. nominated him Knight of the Golden Spur, and the Emperor Maximilian II. invested him with imperial nobility; but 'the most flattering tokens of recognition from numbers of great people,' says the French historian

[1] 'They belong,' says Ambros (iii. 353), 'to those grandest monuments of art which time and its torrents, bringing and sweeping away lesser things, are powerless to overwhelm. Whenever mention is made of the music of the sixteenth century, the mind at once reverts to these Psalms and to Palestrina's *Missa Papæ Marcelli*.'

De Thou, 'and a fame that extended through the whole of Europe, never spoilt the humility which rather endured than enjoyed all this distinction.' Amid his arduous services as choir-master he composed over 2,000 works. Even at an advanced age his motto still was: 'So long as God gives me health, I cannot and will not be idle.' At the age of seventy-four, on May 24, 1594, he dedicated his last musical composition: 'The Tears of St. Peter,' to Pope Clement VIII.; 'Set to music by me,' he says in the dedicatory preface, 'out of particular high esteem for your Holiness.' Three weeks later he died, after having made a bequest 'in perpetual memory of himself, his heirs and descendants, and for the consolation and salvation of his and their souls,' of a yearly sum to be given to every poor person in the Hospital of the Holy Ghost at Munich on the first Sunday after Michaelmas Day, and also for a perpetual anniversary, with a High Mass and two Low Masses, to be held in the Church of St. John the Baptist at Geising-on-the-Ampel. Both in his art and in his private life Orlandus was in every way a firm adherent to the Christian-German throught of the Middle Ages, and he transmitted to posterity, in imperishable creations, the old Dutch-German art-spirit, blended and assimilated with the still uncorrupted art of the romanesque peoples.[1]

[1] Fuller details occur in W. Bäumker, *Orlandus de Lassus, der letzte grosse Meister der niederländischen Tonschule*, Freiburg, 1878. Cf. Ambros, iii. 351 ff. (** 2nd ed., 1881, p. 354 ff.); Naumann, i. 356–369; Köstlin, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 132–135. ** F. X. Haberl, in his *Kirchenmusical. Jahrb.* for 1891, p. 98 ff., gives interesting extracts from the correspondence of Orlando di Lasso with Prince (afterwards Duke) William IV. of Bavaria. It is, however, to be regretted that the publisher only prints those passages which are important in the history of music. In the same publication, 1893, p. 61 ff.,

Four months before him his brother artist Palestrina had died. Both these masters raised sacred song to its full height and dignity: they were reformers in the true sense of the word; full of reverence for the traditional forms of art, they never broke with the organism of art, but on the contrary penetrated into its depths, ennobled and transfigured it. In this respect they were the prototypes of all really great masters of later periods.

Among German composers of second rank, who nevertheless did a great deal of admirable work, may be mentioned Arnold von Bruck, Dean of the Abbey at Laibach and chapel-master in Vienna († after 1545), and Leonard Pamminger, master at the Thomas School at Passau (†1567). The first of these is especially distinguished for his deeply pious German songs. His profound grief at the Church schism which had broken out is expressed in his six-voiced prayer to the Holy Trinity. 'Help us to right this strife,' he implores the Saviour, 'since Thou art the Mediator: see what misery has sprung up in Thine house.' He composed an exquisite piece for six voices on the old German hymn: 'O du armer Judas, was hast du gethan?'[1] Pamminger treated the liturgy of the whole Church year in an almost exhaustive manner, including the harmonisation of nearly all the Psalms.[2]

there are extracts from archives concerning O. di Lasso and his descendants. At the third centenary of the death of O. di Lasso there appeared several valuable works such as: (I.) *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayr. Hofkapelle unter O. di Lasso*, by A. Sandberger, vol. i., Munich, 1894; (II.) *O. di lasso, ein Lebensbild*, von E. v. Destouches, Munich, 1894. See also the *Literaturangeben*, in Riezler, iv. 478.

[1] Ambros, iii. 401–403 (2nd ed. p. 413 ff.). ** Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, iii. 349.

[2] So says Proske, preface to the *Musica divina*, p. 15. See Bäumker,

As in the case of the plastic arts, so, too, in music an attempt was made to revive the antique. The German humanists, with Conrad Celtes at their head, endeavoured to bring about this revival or 'Renaissance' by fitting musical rhythm as far as possible to that of language, and thus founding a style of music adapted to syllabic verse structure. They set poems of Horace and Virgil, hymns of Prudentius and Sedulius, as well as their own poetic efforts, to music, metrically for one voice, and attempted to subordinate the other voices to a mere harmonised accompaniment.[1] What they succeeded in producing is, in its commonplace, bourgeois insipidity, on a level with the productions of the Meistersänger of this time.[2]

While the humanists, like the disciples of the plastic arts, aimed only at external imitation of all the new art forms that had come into vogue in Italy, and

Tonkunst, pp. 161–162. For other composers, Lorenz Lämlin, Sixt Dietrich, &c., see Ambros, iii. 393 ff. (2nd ed. p. 403 ff.).

[1] *I.e.* one sang a tune, and the others notes in harmony below, instead of an instrumental accompaniment.—[TRANSLATOR].

[2] See Jacob, p. 454; Köstlin, pp. 201–202. Ambros (iii. 376–377) says: 'By strict and literal adhesion to Horace, Catullus, Virgil, and Propertius, music was to be brought nearer to the antique—that is, according to the opinion of the day, nearer to the only art and culture which could be legitimately so called. Music, in fact, was to be reborn in the antique sense. While the learned and cultivated Florentine circles were intent on a revival of antique tragedy set to appropriate music, music which should interpret the spirit of the words, not servilely imitating their metrical arrangement, in Germany this musical renaissance, just like the German art renaissance, was a merely outward, formal, schoolmasterish affair.' 'These German schoolmasters in Roman togas, mutually crowning each other with laurels, have something irresistibly comic about them.' See R. v. Liliencron, 'Die horazischen Metren in den deutschen Kompositionen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.' *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1887, Heft i. 26–92; and also Von Liliencron, 'Die Chorgesänge des lateinisch-deutschen Schuldramas im sechzehnten Jahrhundert,' *loc. cit.* 1890, p. 309 ff.

consequently failed lamentably in their works, those German composers, on the other hand, who went through their apprenticeship under the Venetians, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, became initiated in the spirit of their masters and produced works of lasting value; in the first rank of these are the Nuremberger, Hans Leo Hasler, James Handl, styled Gallus, from Carniola, and Gregory Aichinger of Ratisbon. Hasler served for many years in the Fugger chapel at Augsburg; in the later years of his life (†1612 at Frankfort-on-the-Main) he joined the new religion, and arranged an admirable book of chorales for Protestant use; but his real renown as a classic master lies in the compositions prepared for the Catholic Church, above all in a twelve-part Mass which has no equal.[1] His five-voice piece 'Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirrt' lives on still in the Chorale of Paul Gerhard's song: 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.'[2] James Handl (†1591 at Prague) gained such distinction by his Church music that he was regarded as 'a German Palestrina.' For pure beauty, however, and thoroughness of artistic culture Hasler and Handl, according to the opinion of musical connoisseurs, were far surpassed by Aichinger, who was for many years organist to the Fugger chapel at Augsburg, and who died there in charge of the cathedral choir in 1628.[3]

At the time when these great composers flourished,

[1] Franz Commer has published two volumes of Hasler's Church music in the *Musica sacra*, vols. xiii. and xiv. (Berlin, 1872, 1873)

[2] Ambros, iii. 557 (** 2nd ed. p. 574).

[3] His motets especially show 'the indefinable mark of genius.' 'One wonders at last whether one should not, without further ado, award the palm among the German masters to this Ratisbon priest, so simple and withal of such rich and profound intellect' (Ambros, iii. 531).

vocal Church music, especially in the larger chapels, had long been to a great extent superseded by instrumental music,[1] and sacred song had very generally lapsed into a state of decay by which 'piety and devotion were rather hindered than promoted.' The utterances of contemporaries leave no doubt whatever on this point. In proportion as the musical system established by Gregory the Great was abandoned, liturgical song degenerated. The famous theologian, William Lindanus, complained in a work published at Cologne in 1559 that 'Instead of stimulating the congregation to religious feelings and to the utterance of fervent prayer, the singing of the singers nowadays is much more calculated to disturb prayer and worship;' what one hears at divine service is not song but a medley of constantly reiterated syllables, a hurly-burly of voices, a confused screaming and wild howling.[2]

[1] Violins, trombones, horns, and bassoons were used for Church singing; see Jacob, p. 464, note 1. As regards organs, 'their size increased greatly in the sixteenth century, and whereas at the same time the actual liturgical vocal music was more and more thrown out by the development of the newer music and the adoption of all possible instruments, the part of the organ grew to giant proportions, but also, not unfrequently, it became proportionately unsuited to the actual service of the altar' (Jacob, p. 270). ** The organs were used: (1) for preludes; (2) for accompanying different choir pieces; (3) alternately with the choir in the performance of liturgical song. By the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum*, which Clement VIII. published in the year 1600, certain abuses which had arisen in connection with organ-playing were abolished, and definite rules were laid down for the use of organs. See G. Rietschel, *Die Aufgabe der Orgel im Gottesdienste* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 16. See now also the admirable article 'Orgel' by Bäumker in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, x. (2nd ed.), 1048 ff. See also H. Weber, *Der Kirchengesang im Fürstbistum Bamberg* (*Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft*, Cologne, 1893), p. 25 ff. Here there are fuller details concerning the culture of music in the college for the education of the clergy, erected in 1586 in compliance with the rules of the Council of Trent.

[2] Jungmann, p. 832. The *Panopl. Evangel.* appeared first at Cologne in 1559.

In spite of the reform, decrees of the Council of Trent and the ordinances of provincial and diocesan synods,[1] 'they went further and further with these bad usages.' 'They think,' wrote Jodokus Lorichius, professor of theology at Freiburg in the Breisgau, in 1593, 'they think to do God special honour and to praise Him better with quantities of stringed instruments, and much figured music;' but 'good and strong management is necessary here to prevent the worship of God being turned into theatrical performance, and the attention of the congregation being more diverted from worship than helped in it;' they ought 'to proceed with suitable order, discretion and piety;' it was not 'every kind of song that was fit for church services.'[2] 'In church and at the service of God,' says the Bavarian court secretary Aegidius Albertinus in 1602, 'music is often misused: they no longer sing in a manly, modest, clear and intelligent voice, but in a feminine, immodest, unintelligent and vulgar manner; there is so much extraordinary colouring, fancifulness and fireworks, as if the music were not composed for the praise and glory of the Lord, but for the magnifying of art and pride.'[3]

In many different ways 'things that were still worse' were introduced into divine service.

'One hears rapturous love-songs,' wrote John Fickler in 1581, 'played on organs in churches, and songs of this kind do not come out of David's Psalms or from the evangel or from Paul, but from the "Katzipori," the "Rollwagen," the "Gartengesellschaft" or

[1] See Jacob, pp. 386 ff., 424 ff.
[2] Lorichius, *Aberglaub*, p. 54.
[3] *Hausspolizei*, seventh part, p. 135[b].

from indecent Italian song-books.'[1] On the Protestant side the Ulm superintendent Conrad Dietrich (b. 1575) complained in a sermon: 'There are numbers of composers who display their musical skill in concerted pieces, madrigals and so forth, but such music is not fit for churches. Others compose pretty, cheerful, sprightly dance-music, and write under it all sorts of frivolous, amorous, licentious words; these pieces also are not suitable in the Lord's house of song, but are fit only for the playhouse of Dame Venus. Oh, you cantors, what a heavy reckoning you will have to pay one day for having accustomed your pupils and choristers to this sort of thing!'[2]

Among the Protestant composers of the sixteenth century there is scarcely one who stands on the level of the great Catholic masters; many of them, however, fill a prominent place in the history of music, and earned lasting distinction in the field of Protestant sacred song. Foremost among the latter was John Eccard, a pupil of Orlandus Lassus, at first choirmaster in the Fugger chapel at Augsburg, and later in similar positions at Königsberg and at Berlin († 1611). It was said of him, as of his master, that he was 'a peaceable, quiet man.'[3] His works are all written for choir singing, not for accompaniments to congregational singing. In company with him Sethus Calvisius, cantor at the St. Thomas School at Leipzig, Bartholomew Gesius, cantor at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Melchior

[1] Fickler, *Tractat*, Bl. 40a. For the collections of anecdotes, 'Katzipori, Rollwagen, Gartengesellschaft,' see our later section, 'Unterhaltungsliteratur' ('Entertaining Literature') in vol. xii.

[2] *Sonderbare Predigten*, i. 234–235.

[3] Von Winterfeld, *Zur Gesch. heiliger Tonkunst*, ii. 281; cf. i. 57–78, the article 'Orlandus Lassus and John Eccard.'

Frank,[1] court choir-master at Coburg, and Michael Praetorius, court choir-master at Wolfenbüttel, deserve honourable mention. The last-named (†1621) was largely instrumental, by his original composition, by his adaptations of Italian works, and by his literary works, in paving the way into Germany for the music of Italy, which by that time had become very much secularised.[2] The Protestants very early complained that among them Church music enjoyed no high esteem. 'It is no wonder,' wrote John Walther, one of the earliest composers in the service of the new faith, 'that music is nowadays so much despised and abused, seeing that other arts also, which nevertheless are indispensable to us, are treated by everyone as almost nothing worth.' The blame of all this lies with the devil, 'because by the grace of God the papistical Mass and all belonging to it has been abolished, Satan is doing his best to overthrow all that is well-pleasing to God.'[3]

Walther, 'chief singer and by appointment director of the chanting' to the Prince Elector of Saxony, Luther's friend and best adviser on the publication of the first Protestant hymn-book, was not an original composer, but a clever manipulator and adapter of the

** [1] W. Oberst, *Melchior Franck*. A contribution to the history of Italian composition in Germany at the time of the Thirty Years' War. With a musical appendix. Berlin Dissertation, 1892.

[2] According to Ambros, iii. 563; Naumann, i. 432–435; Chrysander, ii. 317; Reissmann, ii. 68–75; Köstlin, p. 214.

[3] Preface to the *Wittenbergisches Gesangbüchlein* of 1537, printed by Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, p. 558. Walther's *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* of the year 1538, printed last by Goedeke, *Dichtungen von M. Luther*, pp. 203–204. Hermann Finck wrote in 1556 in his *Practica musicæ* that among foreign nations the masters of music stood in high repute, and were richly remunerated, 'apud nos vero excellentes artifices (ut nihil dicam amplius) in tanto honore et pretio non sunt, immo sæpe periculum famis vix effugiunt' (Ambros, iii. 365 note).

melodies taken from the treasury of hymns of the old Church, and from the sacred and secular *volkslied*.[1] While the Catholic composers Louis Senfl and Arnold von Bruck did not hesitate to set to music numbers of hymns which, though intended for Protestant worship, were of universal Christian import, Walther took up a bigoted doctrinal attitude. In a 'new spiritual song' of sixty-four eight-lined strophes, in which he magnified Luther as 'the prophet and apostle of the German land,' he sings of the Pope, among other things:

> Idolatry he's spread abroad,
> And much dishonoured Christ the Lord;
> Mankind he's blinded with the evil
> Deceit and poison of the devil:
> In God's high place himself has seated,
> As God been worshipped and intreated,
> Has trampled underneath
> His feet Christ's blood and death.[2]

In 1566 Walther published in an arrangement for six voices Luther's famous 'Christian Children's Song,' of which the first verse runs as follows:

> In Thy Word preserve us, Lord,
> Slay Pope and Turk with Thy sharp sword,
> Who Jesus Christ, Thy Son,
> Would hurl down from His throne.[3]

Luther's activity on behalf of sacred song was indefatigable. He was an enthusiastic lover of music, an expert connoisseur and singer of polyphonic music. At many different times he said of himself: 'I have

[1] Von Winterfeld, i. 167; Naumann, i. 429–432; Bäumker, *Tonkunst*, pp. 150-151; Köstlin, 202–207; Ambros, iii. 412–414. 'The Palestrina of the Protestant Church is not Walther, but John Sebastian Bach.'

[2] Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, iii. 192–197; see the more detailed remarks, vol. i. p. 777, No. 526. The song is of the year 1554.

[3] For Walther see H. Holstein in the *Archiv für Litteraturgesch.* xii. 184 ff.

always delighted in music: I would not give up my humble musical gift for anything, however great.' 'I am quite of the opinion, and am not afraid of saying so openly, that next to theology there is no art which can be compared to music, for it alone, after theology, gives us that which otherwise we should only get from theology—rest and joy of heart.' 'Music disciplines and chastens, and makes people kinder and more soft-hearted, more moral and reasonable.' 'Music drives away the spirit of melancholy, as is seen in the case of King Saul.' 'We should always accustom the young to this art, for it makes people refined and intelligent. It should be compulsory to teach music in schools, and a schoolmaster should be able to sing, or I for one cannot respect him.' [1]

Luther took special delight in the old German Church hymns, and praised them in the warmest manner. 'Under the papacy,' he said, 'they sang grand hymns: He who broke the gates of hell and overcame the devil himself therein. Item: Christ has risen from all His martyrdom. This was sung then from the bottom of the breast. At Christmas they sang "Ein Kindelein so lobelich ist uns geboren heute." At Whitsuntide they sang "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist." At the Mass they sang the beautiful hymn "Gott sei gelobt und gebenedeit, der uns selber hat gespeiset."' [2] But if Luther loved the simple style in which the people sang the 'grand hymns' in churches, he also took great

[1] Fuller details are given in Bäumker, *Tonkunst*, pp. 138–142. ** Melanchthon also, in his Wittenberg school ordinance of 1528, insists on the importance of teaching singing; see A. Prüfer, *Untersuchungen über den ausserkirchlichen Kunstgesang in den evangelischen Schulen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig inaugural dissertation. Leipzig, 1890.

[2] Collected Works, v. 23.

delight in choral and figured song. In his own house he set up a chantry where the motets of Josquin, Senfl, and other masters were sung. In his arrangement of sacred song for the communities which joined his new confession of faith, he strove most eagerly to retain the old polyphonic Church music, and used existing melodies with skill and circumspection. He did not apparently compose original tunes, nor has he anywhere in his writings claimed to have done so.[1]

German Church-song enjoyed very wide extension in the Middle Ages, and the number of beautiful hymns still preserved, some full of loveliness and tenderness, others

[1] 'About fifty years after Luther's death Sethus Calvisius still ascribed to him 137 hymns, and also *implicitly* a large proportion of the tunes belonging to them. Later on, however, the number of the latter diminishes in an interesting and remarkable progression. Before Rambach's work on Luther's services to Church song only thirty-two tunes were still regarded as emanating from our reformer. Rambach himself, in the year 1813, leaves him twenty-four as his own compositions; Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes* (1852), comes down to nine; Reissmann, in the first [it should be called second volume, p. 59] volume of his *Musikgeschichte* (1864), says only eight, three of which he speaks of as certain, while five are doubtful; Schilling's *Universallexikon* gives only six; von Winterfeld, as also the *Musikalisches Conversationslexikon Mendels*, only three; and, finally, Kade, in his *Luthercodex*, published in 1871, with specification of the name, allows him only the old battle song, 'Eine feste Burg,' and even this later on, in 1877, in the introduction to his collection of oldest Wittenberg songs by John Walther, he gives to the latter (Naumann, i. 417). See below, p. 258, n. 1. Fuller details concerning the theory that the tune of this 'Kampflied' also dates from earlier times occur in Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 22, 26 ff., and in Bäumker's article (cf. *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1887, No. 6) against A. Thürling, 'Zum Streit über die Entstehung der Luthermelodie,' in the *Monatsschrift für Musikgesch.* 1887, No. 5, pp. 73–77. Cf. Von Liliencron in the *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Literaturgesch. und Renaissance-Literatur*, by Koch and Geiger, n.s., i. 147 ff.; ** and Ph. Wolfrum, *Die Entstehung und erste Entwickelung des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes in musikalischer Beziehung* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 72 ff. See also F. Zelle, *Die Singweisen der ältesten evangel. Kirchenlieder, I. Die Melodien des Erfurter Enchiridion.* Progr., Berlin, 1890.

of strength and solemnity, others again of jubilant rejoicing, and all accompanied by inimitably expressive and heart-stirring melodies, amounts to many hundreds.[1]

Among the composers who arranged sacred and Church song in an artistic manner, Henry Finck, with whom are associated Henry Isaak and Louis Senfl, holds the first rank. His five-part piece, 'Christ ist erstanden,' and his four-part Pilgrim song, 'In Gottes Nam so fahren wir,' are full of primitive, rugged force. The conclusion of the last piece with the full sounding Kyrie Eleison reminds one exactly of Händel's sublime choruses and chorus endings. In the working out of the hymns in several parts which are contained in the collections published by the printers Erhard Oeglin in 1512 and Peter Schöffer in 1513, we find the first solid foundations of the marvellous structure of Sebastian Bach's chorales in figured counterpoint.[2]

German songs were sung in church on high festival days, at dramatic performances, and also in combination with the sequences in which the mediæval liturgy was uncommonly rich; also during Low Masses after the

[1] Concerning old German Church-song and its use in divine service, see our remarks, vol. i. pp. 285–296; W. Bäumker, 'Niederländische geistliche Lieder nebst ihren Singweisen aus Handschriften des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Mus. Wissensch.* Jahrg. 4 (1888), Heft ii. 153–254.

[2] So says Ambros, iii. 366, 370. The Protestant Arrey von Dommer says in his *Handbook of Musical History* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1878), p. 181: 'It is scarcely necessary to remark that the contrapuntal development of the melody can no more be regarded as a discovery of the Protestants than the introduction of German folksong into the Church service. The tunes of congregational singing served the composers of the Reformation as material for their counterpoint work just in the same way as their Gregorian choral served the Catholics, and counterpoint compositions on songs were written long before the Reformation.'

consecration, and at the Holy Communion, as well as before and after the sermon preached in most places in connexion with the High Mass. In like manner German songs were also sung at the frequent people's services in honour of the Passion of the Lord, of the Blessed Sacrament, the Blessed Virgin, and other saints, but most especially at the solemn or penitential processions and pilgrimages which were among the essential modes of expression of the religious life of that period.[1]

But the hymns and songs in use during divine service were not allowed to displace the liturgical text and the Gregorian choral chant.

On the other hand, Luther placed side by side with the old Latin choral song the German Church-song, as equally legitimate, and raised it later on to the dignity of the actual liturgical song of the new congregation.[2]

As regards his own poetic work as author of new sacred songs and hymns, of the thirty-seven that are ascribed to him without doubt, twelve are only re-arrangements and enlargements of earlier German songs, eight are translations of hymns and other Latin songs, eight are Psalms, two are poetised Bible passages, hence there are very few original songs among them.[3]

[1] Bäumker, *Tonkunst*, pp. 130–135, and *Kirchenlied*, ii. 8–14. A. Schachleiter in the Mayence *Katholik*, 1884, Juliheft, p. 54 ff.

[2] Even in 1523 Luther, in his pamphlet *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes*, gave the following instruction: 'The songs in the Sunday Masses and Vespers are to be left, for they are very good, and taken from Scripture.' But only three years later appeared his *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes*, according to which only the Kyrie of the old liturgy was retained, whilst all the other Latin songs only passed muster in their German garb. See Reissmann, ii. 48–49.

[3] According to the evidence of Bäumker's researches in the first and second volumes of *Kirchenlieder*; cf. vol. i. p. 19. 'Most of his songs are, and do not pretend to be anything else than, popular arrangements of given models, to which they remain more or less true in thought and

But even in this work of adapting and expanding he not seldom shows himself a true poet; above all in that much sung hymn 'Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott;' even though the first four lines follow the diction of the Psalm, it is nevertheless an original creation of tremendous power.[1]

A song of great intensity is that which he published first in 1524, 'Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein,' in which he gives vent to his sorrow at the schism and dissensions which had already crept into his party. 'They teach,' says the second strophe:

> They teach deceitful, empty lore
> By their own wisdom founded,
> Their hearts are not ingenuous, or
> On God's Word firmly grounded:
> One chooses this, another that,
> Immeasurably they us divide,
> While making a fine show outside.

The following are among many of the older song tunes which passed over into the Protestant Church hymnal: 'Wir glauben all an einen Gott,' 'Vater Unser im Himmelreich,' 'Es ist ein Ros entsprungen,' 'Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle,' 'Freu dich,

in form,' says F. Wagenmann in Goedeke, *Dichtungen von M. Luther*, xxxiii.

** [1] Concerning the date of the composition of this song see Knaacke in the *Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben*, i. 39 ff.; and against him, Ellinger in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xxii. 252 ff. See also Zelle, *Eine Feste Burg ist unser Gott. Zur Entwickelung des evangelischen Kirchengesangs*. Programm, Berlin, 1895, who declares John. Walther, not Luther, to be the author of the tune (see above, pp. 253–5). Objections to this theory are raised by G. Kawerau in the *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literaturgesch.* vol. 6, ii. 6, No. 79. Concerning the date of the words, opinions are also discordant. Hausrath, in the *Protest. Kirchenzeitung*, pp. 43, 169 ff., thinks they were composed in the tumult of war, which began 1528, and lasted through the following year. Concerning the oldest versions of the song Zelle has written in the Programm, Berlin, 1896.

du werte Christenheit,' 'Christus fuhr gen Himmel,' 'Nun bitten wir den Heil'gen Geist.' Various songs to Mary underwent 'Christian correction'—that is to say, were adapted to the new doctrine.[1]

Whereas in the new cult preaching was the most important element,[2] the new Protestant Church hymns also assumed an essentially didactic character little suited to the nature of Church music. Church hymns were mixed up with didactic poetry, and, losing all lyric swing and movement, fell into the measure of rhymed dogmatic and moral preaching.[3]

[1] See Von Winterfeld, i. 98–123.

[2] ** At the beginning of the Church schism a German Mass formulary was still retained in use. See J. Smend, *Die evangelischen deutscher Messen bis zu Luthers deutscher Messe*, Göttingen, 1896.

[3] Protestant historians and historians of literature speak as follows on this subject: 'A speedy result of the liturgical freedom that had been obtained,' says Gervinus, 'was that every reformed clergyman made separate hymns, which he introduced among his congregation, and it was by no means a libel that George Wizel uttered when he said that over half the villages of Germany there was scarcely a pastor or a shoemaker, however incompetent, who had not composed at least one or two little songs over his pipe, which he afterwards sang with his peasants in church; and Luther was soon forced to complain of dull blockheads who adulterate pepper by mixing with it their "Mäusemist."' 'What made Church hymns a mongrel production was that they were composed with the object of working on opinions and views, and this forsooth by means of song. To suit this object the poetry had to be thoughtful and didactic, while the music was to enable it to appeal to the emotions. The poetry of songs is, in itself, strictly speaking, an abortion, as it has in it little of the imaginative. Didactic poetry is most decidedly degenerate. And now these two abortions were to be fused in one! This circumstance alone puts sacred song at the very beginning of the Protestant era, as it were, in a position of inferiority in comparison with the old Christian hymns.' 'We do not hesitate to place these hymns, both poetically and musically, above our German ones, not in general, but the best of those over the best of these' (Gervinus, iii. 10-12, 22–23). Carl Adolf Menzel (ii. 300) says, concerning the religious worship and the hymns of the Protestants: 'Protestant divine service had rid itself of all those elements which elevate the feelings by means of contemplation. The aim, however, which it set itself of edifying by means of

One of the hymns sung most frequently and, according to contemporaries, with the most fervour,

instruction was reached less and less the further teaching and teachers departed from the source of the living idea, and the more preaching, after Luther's death, sank down to mere reiteration of empty theological disputations. The expansion of Church-song did, indeed, appear to give a certain scope for the feelings and the imagination, but, as a matter of fact, congregational hymns had only received a somewhat altered challenge to follow learning and preaching on the way of comprehensible definition of the incomprehensible. Actual poetry could not possibly flourish on the soil of a religious system of thought which clipped the wings of imagination in order to mount to heaven by the ladder of reason, which compressed the whole life of the feelings within the narrow limits of automatic and unfruitful faith, presented everlasting love in the rigid form of arbitrary divine determinism, and which only failed to paralyse and lame the pinions of the human spirit because it was not possible for it to follow out its principles logically, and to apply them thoroughly to life.' Wolfgang Menzel (*Deutsche Dichtung*, ii. 203 ff.) writes : 'The oldest and the most beautiful hymns in evangelical hymn-books are translations of older Catholic hymns. Luther's old soulful songs are almost throughout transpositions, but admirable transpositions, of older Catholic songs.' 'Next to the Lutheran the hymns of Decius († 1529) form the old Catholic kernel of the Protestant hymn-books.' 'It was a great misfortune for the Lutheran hymn-books that there were far too many hymn-writers without any vocation for the office. Every man who had but the goodwill to write, and who could string together a few rhymes, considered himself a sacred poet. The Calvinists, in many respects the most practical of the sects, discerned this evil, and obviated it by translating the Psalms into German rhyme, and making them their only hymnal. The Lutherans, however, went on rhyming, and flooded the hymn-books with a mass of compositions which in the previous century had already amounted to 60,000 in number.' 'Mary and all the saints were banished from the Lutheran and reformed hymn-books, the Church tradition was broken, the spiritual architecture of the mediæval Church became obsolete. To the over-exuberant idealism to which at that very period Catholic poetry was rising in Spain under Calderon, the new Church opposed the stern and hard barrenness of a realism which clung more to the Old than to the New Testament. It fell back, indeed, into Judaism.' 'Protestant hymnology was further characterised by didacticity. As preaching became the essential part of divine service, it was obviously necessary that the hymns should be chiefly instructional. The Word of God was broken up into innumerable texts, and these put together in rhymes to make hymns. The catechism also was turned into rhyme and incorporated in the hymn-books.' Thus, for instance, Joachim Aberlin, in 1534, published *Ein kurzer Begriff und Inhalt der ganzen Bibel in drei Lieder zu singen*, Wackernagel, *Biblio-*

treated, in fourteen seven-lined strophes, the dogmatic dissensions concerning faith and works. It was the

graphie, p. 551. Whereas the 'beautiful and divine art of music was now used for all sorts of shame and impropriety,' Wolfgang Figulus, 'in order that the young might learn to use music rightly,' published in the year 1560 an improved edition of Martin Agricola's *Deutsche Musica und Gesangbüchlein*, in which the Gospels were arranged in German rhymes for singing (Wackernagel, p. 606). Ambrosius Lobwasser (†1585) earned the most praise, and also the most blame, for translating the Psalms into German, not from the Lutheran text, but with the help of a Frenchman from a French translation (cf. Gervinus, iii. 41–42). In intentional opposition to this Calvinistic psalter, Cornelius Becker published his psalter in 1602. In the preface Polycarp Leiser says: 'It is a great misfortune with us Germans that we are so governed by curiosity, *quod sumus admiratores rerum exoticarum et contemtores propriarum.* Whatever is foreign and rare, that we esteem highly; that which God bestows upon us, even if it is better and more beautiful, we despise. So it is with the dear Psalms of David. Because Ambrosius Lobwasser D. has set the Psalms of David to foreign, French music, to tunes which ring pleasantly to sensual ears, and which can be sung by four voices, this same psalter is so highly thought of *publice* and *privatim*, as if nothing better could be found, notwithstanding that the rhymes are very middling, most of them forced, unintelligible, and not at all like German rhymes, but more after the manner of French rhymes' (Wackernagel, p. 447; cf. Becker's *Vorrede*, pp. 680–683. 'Verzeichniss der Psalmendichtungen' in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 172–175; cf. Reissmann, ii. 66 ff.) However high in public estimation the Lutheran treasury of hymns rose in the course of time, 'it was, after all,' says Tholuck, *Das Kirchliche Leben*, p. 128, 'only the thirty-two hymns contained in Luther's Wittenberg hymnal of 1525, and prescribed by the Church ordinances for use on Sundays and festivals, which were always sung and resung. These few hymns were taught orally in the schools. Until the nineteenth century the use of the hymn-book was unknown in the country churches.' 'The collections of hymns in the sixteenth century,' says Curtze, *Gesch. des evangel. Kirchengesangs im Fürstentum Waldeck*, p. 55, 'were chiefly for private use. Preachers and cantors were expected to repeat the hymns to the people until they knew them by heart.' Tholuck (p. 129) alludes to the 'widespread complaint that, as a rule, the women, and sometimes also the men, did not join in the singing.' Altogether, German Church-singing was by no means so general among the Protestants as is usually supposed. Cyriacus Spangenberg complains that in many places 'there was no singing either before or after the sermon' (*Von der Musica*, p. 153). George Bruchmann, glancing back at his sojourn in Züllichau during his youth (1600), says: 'Often during divine service not a single German hymn was sung, unless by chance, when the pastor failed to mount the

hymn composed by Paul Speratus, 'Vom Gesetz und Glauben,' set to the old tune 'Freu dich, du werte Christenheit:'[1]

Salvation has come down to us
From grace and goodness pure,
Good works are all superfluous[2] . . .

since Christ has made satisfaction for all mankind. In the same sense the Zwinglian, John Zwick, sang about law. Christ had subjected Himself to it, and therefore

We also now are free from law,
No more to it we're subject. . . .
The God-Child has His precious blood
Poured out, while young, to save us,
That unto us might come all good,
And law no more enslave us.[3]

A petitional hymn concerning matters of daily food from the pen of the prolific hymn-writer, Bartholomew Ringwalt, passed into several different Protestant hymn-books; it prayed that 'God would observe measure and limit, and not give too much,'

But also do not give us less
Than is our due of bread,
Lest we be tempted to transgress
Thy law through dire need,
Or forced to borrow from the hoard
Of usurers whose finest wheat
In meadows strange is grown:
From these devourers save us, Lord.[4]

pulpit, and then you could not tell whether the execution was done by "striking or by sticking," as the saying is' (Löschke, pp. 113–114).

[1] See Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 549, 551.

[2] Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, iii. 31–32. 'This hymn was often used in order to "sing down" Catholic preachers from the pulpit' (Cunz, i. 52–53, 166; Wangemann, *Gesch. des evangel. Kirchenliedes*, p. 167).

[3] Wackernagel, iii. 607.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. 955. Cf. Wangemann, p. 237. **See also Scherer, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur*, p. 290.

Well intended was also a spiritual admonition of Hans Ober's against 'the greed of mammon,' which runs as follows:

In Matthew six we find it writ,
No man to masters twain
Can render service true and fit,
And favour from both gain.
For he will be all diligent
To serve the one with zeal
He likes the best, and negligent
Of all the other's weal.
Therefore thou canst not serve thy God,
And greedy Mammon too.
Abstain from wealth is Paul's advice
In chapter six of Timothy. . . .
And Matthew says decisively
To the same effect,
Treasures on this earth
For yourselves do not collect.[1]

In a 'Geistlicher Gesang von allen Ständen,' to be sung to the tune 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gemein,' Caspar Löner says among other things:

Ye fathers, do not ye incense
The children of you born,
By ill-considered punishments
To sinful wrath and scorn,
So that they be not stupefied,
But rather grow up in the Lord
Admonished well and edified.[2]

In the Zürich hymn-books there is a 'religious song' of Hans Fries from the Proverbs of Solomon 'about a God-fearing and virtuous woman:'

Much clothing makes she daily
Of scarlet and fine linen,
She smileth at them gaily,
For they are her own spinning. . . .

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 516–517. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 639.

She maketh costly laces,
And silken cloths as well;
To merchants of all places
For ready gold they sell.[1] . . .

A number of hymns were on the subject of good preachers, as, for instance, Erasmus Alber's rhymes called 'Lied von der Himmelfahrt Christi:'

The Lord forsakes us never,
He giveth us good preachers ever,
Who in the world take care of us;
He with His Word upholdeth us . . .
Each one who plays the preacher's part
Should know that he whose heart
Unmoved is by the Holy Ghost
Is not well fitted for the post.[2]

To the tune of 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her,' Bartholomew Ringwalt made the congregation entreat God as follows:

Leave us not alone to perish,
Send us preachers true
Who our souls will cherish. . . .
From dog's apothecaries who
Break good sound teeth, and cry
The false wares up on high,
Bring poisoned vegetables in,
Are rogues and villains in their skin,
The land and people cheat,
Good Lord, deliver us.[3]

In another hymn to the same tune preachers were again the subject:

From avarice, envy, hatred, greed,
Mercifully save them all,
That unto thy dear Christian creed
No evil may befall

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 852–853. 'It is instructive to compare this song with that of Paul Gerhardt, "Ein Weib, das Gott den Herrn liebt."' Paul Gerhardt (born about 1607), with his vigorous songs full of glowing feeling, does not come under our consideration till a later volume.

[2] Wackernagel, iii. 881, 882. [3] *Ibid.* iv. 964.

Through their disputes, as well may be
If preachers do not all agree
In concord sweet and brotherly.[1]

The two poets most honoured by the Protestants, Hans Sachs and John Fischart, also took part in the arrangement of Christian hymns, and made songs from the Psalms which found acceptance in different congregational hymn-books. In 1527 the Nuremberg Enchiridia (handbooks) gave four songs from the Psalms by Hans Sachs 'in four figured tunes.' The strophes are badly adapted to singing.

The heathen are engulfed within
The grave themselves have made,
Their feet are tangled in the gin
Which they for us have laid.
Over the godless haters, fire
And brimstone will be poured,
Hurricanes and tempests dire
He'll give them as reward. . . .
Then will the just rejoice and laugh
For whom God vengeance takes,
And walk exulting through the bath
The blood of the godless makes.[2] . . .

Among the religious poems composed by Fischart, and inserted in the Protestant hymn-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[3] there was an adaptation of the beautiful old Christmas hymn, 'In dulci Jubilo, Nu singet und seid fro,' and a 'Trost-psalm wider unrechtfertige Leut.' The first ran as follows:

O Jesu, draw Thou nigh
To us, for Thee long time we sigh!
Comfort Thou my soul,
O gracious little boy
With all Thy goodness!

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 964, 967. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 62–66.
[3] Koch, *Gesch. des Kirchenlieds*, ii. 282.

O Prince of Peace on high,
Draw me to Thee, that I
May ever see thee nigh! [1]

In the Catholic song-book this strophe was as follows.[2]

In the 'Trostpsalm' (Psalm lviii.) Fischart versifies about the godless kind:

They rage and they know not for what,
At all that is solemn they jeer,
And like a deaf adder they shut
To all good counsel their ear.

Break his teeth in his mouth like stones,
And him with might overthrow,
Break the young lion's jaw-bones,
And cast his arrogance low.

Psalm xlix., 'Hear this, all ye people,' says concerning the godless:

Like beasts of the field they must pass
From hence, remembered by none,
For they lived like beasts of the grass,
Hankering for earth alone.

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 826–827.

[2] As it is impossible to indicate the difference between the two versions satisfactorily in translations, we give the originals of both versions.—[Translator.]

The Protestant Version.

O Jesu, zu uns näh,
Nach dir war uns lang we,
Tröst mir mein Gemüthe,
O gnadrichs Knäblein, meh,
Nach aller deiner Güte,
O Friedfürst aus der Höh,
Zieh mich nach dir meh,
Dass ich dich ewig seh.

Catholic Version.

O liebes Jesulein,
Bei dir da wöllen wir sein,
Tröst uns unser Gemüthe,
O herziges Kindelein,
Durch deine grosse Güte,
Du bist der Herr allein,
Wolst uns gnädig sein.

See Kehrein, i. 252.

They lie in hell like the sheep,
That death on them may feed.
Their bodies await in the tomb,
Like sheep on the trestle, their doom.
To hell they are driven in herds,
That death may batten on them ;
There is howling, and wailing, and woe.

In order that 'the young' might more easily pray and sing the Athanasian Creed, Fischart put it into rhymes as follows :

Almighty God the Father is,
Almighty God the Son,
And the Holy Ghost, yet one
Only God there is.

Not three Gods uncreate or three
Almighties we avow,
To one God uncreated we,
To one Almighty bow.

So then the Father is the Lord,
Lord also is the Son,
Likewise the Holy Ghost adored,
Yet not three Lords, but one.

We quote two stanzas of a thirteen-stanza benediction before meals by Fischart :

May He Who in the desert fed
Five thousand with five loaves of bread,
Wanderers come to hear His Word,
For all abounds to those who seek the Lord. . . .

Grant that our hearts may never grow
Dull with eating and drinking here below,
But may we for His advent wait,
As He taught us, early and late.

Another equally quaint specimen of poetry is a burial hymn of twenty-five stanzas :

The body while down here it tabernacled
Was the spirit's hostel-home,
Which God therein a length of time left shackled
Until again He called it forth to roam.[1] . . .

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 811, 814, 825, 839–840.

Not much happier in style was Erasmus Alber in a hymn for 'The Lord's Communion:'

This is the rightful Easter lamb
Roasted on the cross's stem,
Of which it needful is to eat,
It is the dear Lord Christ so sweet.[1]

A poet with a real gift for religious song, and of more than usual power of language, was Nicholas Selnekker. Even those who are forced to criticise him unfavourably as a controversial theologian[2] will love him as a poet in his 'Psalter und Gebetlein für die Hausväter und ihre Kinder' (1578), and in his 'Christlichen Psalmen, Liedern und Kirchengesängen' (1587), and be edified by his earnestness, piety and sincerity. His hymns are also of importance in the history of culture. He, too, after the custom of the times, inveighed against the Pope; but what stirred his soul the most deeply was the sight of the internal dissensions in the new Church, the growing hatred between theologians and preachers, and the universally increasing demoralisation:

Where nowadays is honesty?
Where reverence and modesty?
Where faith, love, loyalty, goodwill?
Who is there serves his neighbour still? . . .
The fear of God from earth has fled,
Faith's vanished, love is dead. . . .
To the last days we now have come,
Since faith and love are lying dumb;
And everywhere there's trickery,
Hate, envy, grasping, roguery. . . .

At the end of Psalm cxlii. he laments concerning 'the false teachers:'

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 883.

[2] In the eighth volume of our work we had to speak of him repeatedly in this respect. See the references in the index of persons.

Where'er I gaze now, far and wide,
To right or left, on either side,
Defiance, infidelity,
Pride, wrangling, and heartburn I see ;
Anent Thy Word they are divided,
When I speak aught I am derided. . . .
Lord, what I mean thou knowest well,
To Thee alone my 'plaint I tell. . . .

For Luther's 'Und steur des Bapsts und Türken Mord' he substituted :

Preserve us in the Word, O Lord,
Ward off the devil's wiles and sword.
Give to Thy Church protection, grace,
Courage and patience, union, peace.
Do Thou the haughty souls abase
Who force themselves into high place,
And ever bring forth something new
To falsify Thy doctrine true.

A very beautiful consolatory hymn ran as follows :

Walk day by day
In the right way,
Bear and be brave,
No envy have ;
Pray, hope in God
Whate'er thy rod.
Trust and be still,
Watch and you will
Great wonders sure behold.[1]

In all cases where the poets retained the old pithy and vigorous language, and the simple, homely, sincere character of the German religious and Church songs of the Middle Ages, their hymns are interesting and beneficial. Here, for instance, is a hymn of Benedict Gletting :

In the garden of my God
Many flow'rets grow ;
Faith tills for them the sod,
Love makes them blow,
With faithful heart,
In patience and affliction sore. . . .

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 216, 235, 241, 243, 272–274, 286.

Paul Eber is equally interesting in his 'Betliedlin zu Christo um einen seligen Abschied:'

When I come to my dying breath
And I am struggling hard with death,
When my vision all is blurred,
When nothing by my ears is heard,
When my tongue can speak no word,
And my heart's with anguish stirred,
When my understanding fails
And no human help avails,
Then quickly come, Lord Christ, to me,
Help me in my extremity,
Lead me from out the vale of grief
And to my death-pangs give relief.[1] . . .

Nicholas Hermann, cantor at Joachimsthal († 1561), also speaks in language full of faith and humility in his morning and evening hymns. His hymn praying for a happy death:

When my little hour is there,
And I must hence into the street,
Do thou, Lord Jesus, guide my feet,
Leave me not helpless in despair,[2] . . .

was inserted, with its beautiful tune, in the Catholic hymn-books.[3] So, too, was Philip Nicholai's most pathetic 'Geistlich Brautlied der gläubigen Seele:'[4]

How brightly shines the morning star,
Full of grace and truth from the Lord,
The root of Jesse sweet![5] . . .

The following hymn by the preacher Martin Schalling was a source of consolation and edification to countless numbers:

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 4. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 1211.

[3] Bäumker, ii. 305–306. ** Concerning N. Hermann, see Nagl-Zeidler, pp. 407 ff., 584 ff.

[4] Bäumker, i. 92–93, 97, No. 327.

[5] Wackernagel, iii. 258. Concerning the misuse of this hymn by the people, who turned the spiritual marriage with Christ into a carnal sense, see Cunz, i. 433, 437.

With all my heart, Lord, Thee I love,
I pray Thou wilt not far remove
Thy grace and goodness from me!
The whole world giveth me no mirth,
For heaven I ask not, nor for earth,
If only Thou art with me.
And e'en should sorrow break my heart
Thou still my sure dependence art,
My portion and my consolation,
Whose blood has wrought my soul's salvation.[1]

A warm breath of strong feeling pervades many hymns of the Anabaptists and of the Bohemian-Moravian Brothers.[2]

This was the case with one of the earliest of these singers, George Grüenwald, a shoemaker, who, according to the report of a chronicle of the Anabaptists, in 1530, 'at Kopfstain, in the cause of God's truth, was condemned to death and burnt.' He composed the song 'Kommt her zu mir, sagt Gottes Sohn:'

The world would gladly salvation gain,
Wer't not for the contempt and pain
They see all Christians tasting:
And yet no other road is there;
Let all start on it, then, who care
To escape pain everlasting.

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[1] Among others in the Dresden hymn-book of 1590; in Wackernagel, iv. 788.

[2] Concerning the sacred song of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century, see Von Winterfeld, *Zur Gesch. heiliger Tonkunst*, ii. 1–27. See also Bächtold, *Deutsche Literatur*, p. 415, and remarks, p. 128 ff. ** Unger, 'Über eine Wiedertäufer-Liederhandschrift des 17. Jahrhunderts' in the *Jahrb. d. Gesch. d. Protest. in Oesterreich.* xiii. (1892), pp. 41 ff., 81 ff., 136 ff.; xvii. 187 ff.; and Nagl-Zeidler, p. 500 ff. Refer here also concerning the exile and emigrant songs of the Austrian Protestants. An admirable work on *Das deutsche Kirchenlied der böhmischen Brüder im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1891) was produced by R. Wolkan. It is here pointed out that a large number of the hymns of the Bohemian Brothers were inserted in the Protestant hymn-books of Germany. See Bäumker in the *Literar. Handweiser*, 1892, p. 204 ff.

What boots the scholar's wisdom high ?
The worldling's pomp ? They all must die—
Vain are the things they cherish.
He who in Christ finds not a place
The while it still is time of grace,
He must for ever perish.

The worldly quake with fear of death,
And when they near their latest breath,
Bethink them of pious turning.
This way and that they work or play,
Forgetting their true selves, while they
Are on the earth sojourning.

And when their lives draw to an end,
To God a mighty wail they send,
The first that's risen from them.
I fear, indeed, the heavenly grace,
From which they turned with mocking face,
Will scarce descend upon them.[1] . . .

Among the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren Michael Weisse stands out prominently as a poet. In 1531 he published the first German hymn-book of the Brethren. A well-known hymn of his which Luther has commended is the Burial Hymn :

The body let us now inter,
In sure faith which does not err,
That at the Judgment Day 'twill rise
Again to life that never dies.

The Brother, George Vetter, was the author of the much sung hymn :

Cease, Lord, from anger
Over us wretched ones !
Cease from Thy fury,
Turn Thee unto us.[2] . . .

There are many other hymns besides these con-

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 128–129.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 462. ** See R. Wolkan, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied der böhmischen Brüder im sechzehnten Jahrhundert,* Prague, 1891, and *Gesch. d. deutschen Literatur in Böhmen,* p. 245 ff.

nected with the mediæval school of religious song which developed new modes of feeling and expression. The list of the 'honigsüssen Wiegenliedlein' (honey-sweet cradle songs) was opened by John Mathesius with a hymn, printed in the Wittenberg hymn-book of 1562, in which Christ the Lord is thus invoked:

Oh Thou little Jesus dear,
God's little lamb,
Pity me, I pray,
Take me on Thy back,
And safely carry me!
O Jesu, little brother mine,
Thou art our little Emmanuel
And our eternal little priest![1]

In a *Geistliches Berglied* (miners' song) of 1556 the same poet wrote:

God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Speaks and good ore is grown,
Of quicksilver and sulphur pure
In washings, galleries, hewings, stone.

He joined on to them this prayer:

O God, Who makest gravel, mica, quartz,
Change these for us in ore,
Improve our hewings cleverly,
Through Thy Spirit our sins undo.[2]

In special confidence Bartholomew Ringwalt put to God the question:

Why dost Thou Thy face
Thus hide with a veil,
And like a man
Rush at me thus
With gestures terrible?
Ah, Lord, take off
This hideous mask,
I might indeed be killed.[3]

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 1153. [2] *Ibid.* 1151; of the year 1556.
[3] *Ibid.* iv. 933. This hymn appears very eccentric when compared

Still stranger is the following conversation in the 'Gassenhauer, Reuter- und Berglidlin,' a song for the common man, the knight and the miner, altered in a Christianly moral and suitable way for the use of the young, by Doctor Henry Knaust in 1571:

How in my heart I loved my God
To Him in childlike speech I said,
But that He, with a heavy rod,
Much sorrow on me laid.

To which God answered:

With right I do
Thus, man, to you!
Such my custom is!
Ju, Ju, Ju, Ju, Ju!
Dear man'kin, murmur not—
Trust still in Me
Though I hew thee:
Such My custom is!
Ju, Ju, Ju, Ju, Ju!
Dear man'kin, murmur not.[1]

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with the simple, homely, and soulful penitential hymn of Ringwalt, written during a ravaging plague, 'O frommer und getreuer Gott' (Wackernagel, iv. 909).

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 781. The full title is in Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, p. 369. A poem of Andreas Gartner following the preface has for its special object to save tender youth from the follies of love:

A book prepared to help the young
We here to them present,
A booklet in best manner sung
With Christian good intent.
The noble Dr. Knauste of such
High learning the work planned,
And he the young has honoured much
By writing it with his hand.
All is most carefully thought out
On true Scripture ground,
And in the present form it's put
To spread God's fear around. . . .

The custom which had already obtained in earlier times of setting religious texts to secular tunes was still further developed by the Protestants, 'partly because in this way their doctrines gained rapid entrance

The beautiful German hymns which had been in use long before Luther's time lived on through the whole of the seventeenth century in the mouths of the Protestant people,[1] but the memory of their Catholic origin had almost entirely disappeared in the second half of the sixteenth century after numbers of them had been incorporated in Protestant hymn-books. 'The sectaries,' said a Catholic preacher in 1562, 'will not recognise the fact that the beautiful German hymns which they use in their churches on high festivals were already sung by our laudable Christian ancestors a hundred years ago and more; they have the audacity to say that we Catholics stole these hymns, which we still sing to-day, out of their prophet Luther's and other hymn-books; as though we had never before then sung hymns about Christ the Lord, but had hidden ourselves from Him in fear and trembling;' they pretend this, 'notwithstanding that our old hymns to His love, thanksgiving, praise, and glory show the opposite.' 'The sectaries have taken away what is ours, and now say that we Catholics are the thieves.' [2]

Among others who made this assertion was the Protestant hymn-writer Nicholas Hermann. In the old Church, he wrote in 1560, 'no one knew how to write

among the people and into homes, partly because the need of the congregation to take part in the singing was thus most easily gratified. There were whole collections of hymns in which not only the secular melodies or the beginnings of songs were retained, but the larger part of the secular text.' The abuse of this custom bordered, naturally, close on its advantages. Fischart had to complain of the scandal of preachers writing hymns about a wild sow and the brave brown maiden, the spiritual Felbinger (?) and the box tree. Gervinus, iii. 28; '*Sammlungen geistlicher Umdichtungen*' *verzeichnet bei Goedeke, Grundriss*, ii. 85–87, 210–213.

[1] See Hoffmann von Fallersleben in the *Weimar Jahrb.* v. 79.

[2] Sermon on the high festival of the nativity of Christ, preached in the Cathedral of Mayence, 1562, by P. Gerhard Fabri, Bl. 2[a], 3.

and to speak of Christ; He was merely looked on as a stern judge, from Whom no mercy was to be expected, but only anger and punishment.' John of Münster, hereditary farmer at Vortlage, published in 1607 a detailed list of a number of hymns which the Catholics had stolen.[1] It was a ruse of the Pope, he declared, to lead all Christendom astray. The Pope 'was hiding himself in the form of the devil under Luther and causing all his hymns—"Now pray we to the Holy Ghost," "Come, Holy Ghost," "God the Father, dwell with us," "Praised be Thou, Jesu Christ," "The day that is so full of joy"—and others to be sung and shouted everywhere publicly; but the sole object of all this was, that by such popish birds of prey and decoy ducks, under the delicious ring of the Lutheran hymns the simple should be more easily enticed to them, drawn into their nets, and then altogether led astray by their idolatry and plunged into everlasting damnation.'[2]

The hymns mentioned, however, belonged to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3]

When David Corner, in the sixteenth century, prepared his Catholic hymn-book, he thought at first of leaving out all hymns 'that were to be found in heretical collections.' 'But I was persuaded to change my mind by a godly Father of the Society of Jesus, who pointed out to me that the non-Catholics had

[1] Reissmann, ii. 56–57. Cyriacus Spangenberg said in his pamphlet, *Von der Musica*, p. 161: 'Under the papacy all the singing in the church and the congregation was in the Latin tongue; and if ever any one of the laity wanted to put into German what was sung in Latin, the clergy did not approve of it.'

[2] *Examen und Inquisition der Papisten und Jesuiter*, published under the name of Maximilian Philos of Treves (1607), p. 190. See our statements, vol. ix. pp. 413, 414, and vol. x. p. 14.

[3] Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 13 ff.

interlarded their hymn-books with not a few of our earliest devotional songs, and had actually been so audacious as to attach Luther's name to some of them; as, for instance, to the following: "Der Tag der ist so freudenreich," "Gelobet seystu Jesu Christ," "Christ ist erstanden," "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," "Jesus ist ein süsser Nam," and a good many others, which nevertheless all Christendom knows to be older than Luther and his new gospel. And, said the Father, it was by no means desirable to leave out such good old hymns, to which the common people had been used so long, simply because they had been used by the enemies of the true faith and falsely ascribed to them.' [1]

On the other hand, the editors of Catholic hymn-books also borrowed numbers of Protestant hymns which had nothing un-Catholic in them. For instance, in the hymn-book of the Dean of Bautzen, Johann Leisentrit, published in 1567, among 250 hymns there are not less than thirty-nine taken from the 'Schlesisches Singbüchlein' of Pastor Valentine Triller of Gora, published in 1555, besides many other Protestant songs.[2] As early as 1537 Michael Vehe, provost at Halle, in compiling his 'Neues Gesangbüchlein geistlicher Lieder,' made use of Protestant hymn-books dating from 1524, and put several old Catholic hymns into a form approved by Protestants.[3]

[1] Bäumker, i. 226; cf. p. 202, the preface of the Andernacher Catholic hymn-book of the year 1608. See also p. 233.

[2] Bäumker, i. 139, and ii. 44–47.

[3] *Ibid.* 34–35, 127. See Von Liliencron in Koch and Geiger's *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Literaturgesch.*, &c. (new series), i. 146–147. ** Concerning Michael Vehe and the first Catholic hymn-book see the article of Paulus in the *Hist.-pol. Bl.* Bd. cx. 469–490; Bäumker in the *Allg. deutsche Biogr.* xxxix. 534 ff.; Schönherr, *Ges. Schriften*, published by

As with the Protestants the German hymns, according to their authors' admonitions, were not intended merely for use in church, but also for instruction in the schools, and for household devotion, so, too, was it with the Catholics. In the prefaces to Catholic hymn-books it is frequently stated that the hymns and spiritual songs for 'children and adults' are intended 'for their Christian exercise in house and field and church, for their use at school, at Holy Mass, at catechisings, pilgrimages, and processions, yea, actually also in their homes and everywhere at their daily work.' The Spires hymn-book of 1599, in especial, earnestly exhorts that 'the beautiful old Catholic devotional and religious Church-songs' should be sung and used by Latin and German school children and by the common people 'before and after the catechism and the sermon, during and after Mass, at the processions of the cross and other processions, and indeed also in their homes and out in the field, at their handiwork, at stated times throughout the whole year, and that by young and old God should be praised and entreated that many wicked, scandalous songs, very hurtful to the young, which are in vogue in this wicked, deceitful world should be avoided and abolished.' 'Young and old, male and female,' were urged, 'for the praise and glory of God and for the kindling of their own devotion, to exercise themselves diligently therein.' An Andernacher hymn-book of 1608 expressed the desire, 'Would God that all pious parents would be careful to take their children frequently to church and to children's classes, and also would instruct them well in these hymns in addition to

M. Mayr, i. (1900), 365 ff.; Waldner in the *Mitteil. f. Musikgesch.* 1895, p. 13 ff.; and, on the opposite side, Bäumker, *ibidem*, p. 50 ff.

the prayers and catechism: indeed, these hymns could sometimes be used instead of the prayers.' 'Oh, how blessed are the parents whose children's earliest words are prayer and praise to Jesus! For, as a rule, that which begins in the name of God ends also in the name of God. Blessed therefore are the children who early lisp the names of Jesus and Mary! Oh, blessed will be the end of these children in the alone saving name of Jesus! How lovingly will the gentle Mother of God, Mary, show her Son to these children at the end!' [1]

Among the Catholic writers of new hymns or translators of Psalms and Latin hymns the following stand out prominently: George Wizel, Caspar Querhammer, Christopher Sweher (Christophorus Hecyrus), John Haym, Caspar Ulenberg, Rutgerus Edingius, Conrad Vetter,[2] and others; many beautiful hymns come from unknown authors.[3] To these belongs, for instance, a hymn to the Holy Virgin which concludes with the following words:

Save us in death from all distress,
And leave us not in torment,
Deliver us from hell's abyss
When comes our dying moment.
Grant that Thy Son, both Man and God,
May not in wrath undo us;
O feed us with His heavenly food
Whereby grace comes unto us! [4]

One of the tenderest and most touching of the hymns to Mary is that of H. J. Soder, published in 1598, and

[1] These and similar exhortations from other hymn-books in Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 193, 195, 196, 202 (cf. 231), and ii. 56, 58, 62.

[2] ** Cf. *Allgem. Deutsche Biographie*, xxxix. 665 ff. See the index of persons to vol. i. of Bäumker's *Kirchenlied*.

[3] The Catholic hymns in Wackernagel, v. 888–1361.

[4] Wackernagel, v. pp. 1093–1094.

consisting of thirty-five stanzas: 'Ein Jungfrau zart, von edler Art, Ihr's Gleichen nie gesehen ward' ('A tender Virgin, of noble nature, her like has never been seen').

In power, grace, and beauty she
Excels all angels bright:
There's no man understandeth right
That greeting's mystery,
Which God at the appointed day
Himself to her did say. . . .

Mary, the poor sinner's friend,
Mother of mercy, thou
Wilt not cast me out, I trow;
In mercy bend,
Pray for my sins, let me
Taste thy fidelity. . . .

Jesus, God, and Saviour mine,
Though Thou my helper, and no other,
Thou wilt honour still Thy mother,
Mary, mother thine.
Thou wilt listen to the prayer
She lifts for us in our despair.[1]

That in these or in all the other extant hymns to Mary there is any false trust placed in the Holy Virgin, any reliance that impugns the honour of Christ, cannot possibly be maintained. Similarly all the numerous hymns invoking other saints contain nothing more than the prayer which Caspar Querhammer utters in his All Saints' hymn, 'O ihr Heiligen Gottes Freundt' ('O ye Saints, ye friends of God!').

You all alike we do beseech
To gain us grace, that we
The heavenly kingdom soon may reach
When we have ceased to be:
Now God the Lord for us implore,
That He forsake us nevermore,
To perish everlastingly.

[1] The full title is in Bäumker, i. 74, No. 186. Reprinted in Wackernagel, v. 1283–1285; cf. Kehrein, ii. 55–60.

Through all the many hundreds of hymns and religious songs—those especially on the birth, life, passion and death of the Saviour—the keynote is: All trust is in God through the one only mediator, Jesus Christ:

Eternal God, to Thee we pray,
Give peace in our day;
In love to Thee may all agree,
And constantly Thy Will obey:
For there's no other God indeed
Who striveth for us in our need;
Thou art our God alone. . . .
Grant us unity of mind
And endless bliss to find,
Which dwells in Thee alone.
Ah, gracious Saviour, Christ Jesu,
Who art my sole Redeemer too,
Pity me, my God and Lord,
Through Thy sacred blood outpoured! . . .

Lord Jesu Christ,
My anchor still,
In all distress my stay;
Give life respite,
As is Thy Will:
No sinner wilt Thou slay,
Who to Thee turns,
Thus Thy Word learns;
Who build thereon securely
Find saving grace;
Therefore I'll place
On Thee my trust entirely.
Lord Jesu Christ, my hope, delight,
I wait for Thee from morn to night,
Come when Thou wilt, I'm ready quite.[1]

The best translations of the Psalms were done by Caspar Ulenberg, pastor at Kaiserswerth, for his Psalter of 1582; many of these may be regarded as model works.[2]

[1] Kehrein, ii. 153, 529, 600; Wackernagel, iii. 955, 1050–1051, 1054, 1116.

[2] See Bäumker, i. 148–149, 194–195; *Abdrücke von Psalmen* in Wackernagel, v. 1067–1085.

In his polemical preface of forty pages Ulenberg insists on the necessity that, 'according to old example, the common people should be supplied with godly, pure and unfalsified hymns, instead of the misleading collections nowadays compiled.' 'If in these days it is unadvisable and forbidden to use all sorts of sectarian hymn-books, this does not mean that there is any wish to hinder what is good and to reject Christian hymns; it is only done because these new collections are impure and misleading, and bespattered by false teaching, and sometimes, owing to the sectarian catechisms and schismatic Church ordinances printed with them, are found injurious to simple-minded persons. For they have actually woven into these hymns the baseless, senseless lie that up till now the precious truth and the Word of God have not been known to the world, but now finally have been sent to earth by them, the sectaries; in these hymns the heads of Christendom have been unjustly slandered, and because they have set themselves against the intruding heretical horrors, it has been sung in hymns concerning them that they wanted to drive out God and His work. All sorts of error have been mixed up in these hymn-books, and what is most scandalous of all, the Psalmist, David, without his consent, has been pressed into the service; for several of the best Psalms, by omissions and additions, have been so falsified by the sectarians that the prophet, in these hymnals, is sometimes made to speak of things which never were in his mind nor in that of the Holy Ghost.' This, says Ulenberg, was especially the case with the Psalms translated and arranged by Luther, Justus Jonas, and Michael Styfel. 'From these examples everybody could judge in what direction

the sectarians were going and working with their new hymn-books, and that it was not without justice that they were held in contempt. For what trust could be put in people who so wickedly and knowingly perverted God's Word and the holy Psalms of David, by omitting and adding, twisting and turning, and who forced them in the most contradictory ways to fit in with their own advantage, or else dared to poison them with false doctrine? However, what was going on now was nothing new, the old sectarians twelve and thirteen hundred years before had acted in just the same way.' Ulenberg then gives examples. Just as those early sectarians had done, so had 'the present-day ones also done:' they had introduced their doctrines of 'faith alone, of slavish fettered will, their falsification of the doctrine of law, hatred of authorities and other such heresies,' into their hymns, 'and with exquisite melodies and enticing words they had pitifully misled the simple people.' And just as 'the insolent, rabid singing of the Arians had once at Constantinople almost occasioned an uproar,' 'so, too, these present-day sectarians, at the beginning of their bloodthirsty evangelising, had composed and sung all sorts of revolutionary, murderous hymns, of which it might truly be said, as the Greeks said of Draco's statutes, that they were written in human blood.' [1]

The fiercely polemical nature of many of the Protestant hymns had been sternly censured by George Wizel as early as the years 1534 and 1537. 'The heretics,' he wrote, 'take wonderful delight in their new hymns, or rather their scurrilous songs, by means of which they pour the poison of their heresies in-

[1] Kehrein, i. 105–107; Wackernagel, pp. 401–402.

sidiously into the heads of the simple-minded, calumniate the Church, and rage and curse against her.' 'A large number of their Christian hymns are not only against God and His Word, but also for the most part insolent and violent, and many people when they join in such Doric tunes would rather strike in with their fists than sing.' [1] 'New songs and hymns,' writes the

[1] Quoted in Döllinger, *Reformation*, i. (2nd ed.) 46, 58–59. In the preface to the Catholic hymn-book, printed at Tegernsee in 1574, Adam Walasser said: 'Christian and dear readers: after the footsteps of our pious ancestors had been abandoned, and people had strayed into all sorts of wrong ways, godlessness and frivolity of every description came into the world. Then the divine Scriptures, together with the holy Fathers' doctrine, became falsified, perverted, cut down, and added to. The hymns also were treated in the same manner, as has been indicated here in connection with one or two of the Gospels. In the hymn, "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," &c., Christ's going down into hell and the communion of the saints were left out just as if they were not articles of our Christian faith. On the other hand, it was interpolated that "here all sins will be forgiven," although Christ said "the sin against the Holy Ghost would never be forgiven, either here or in the world to come." Item, at the end of the Ten Commandments they have added: "*Es ist mit unserm Thun verloren, verdienen doch eitel Zoren*" ("All our doing is of no profit, we deserve nothing but wrath"), and in the Psalm "Aus tiefster Noth" they sing, "*Es ist doch unser Thun umsonst, auch in dem besten Leben*" ("All our doing is in vain, even in the best of lives"), which words occur neither in this Psalm nor in the whole of Scripture. However, I gladly allow that the "doing" of the sects is vain, and that they deserve only wrath; but it is not so with the pious Catholic Christians. Their works will, if God will, not be lost. But the result of giving people sanction for not doing any good works is that all spiritual discipline and all good conduct are disappearing. Hundreds of examples might be adduced to prove this, but these are sufficient to warn a simple Christian against the sectarian Psalm-books and Church hymns. Besides these hymns there have also come into vogue all sorts of wanton, immoral songs, which also originate in this false carnal teaching. And, alas! it has come to this—that all that the old Christians were ashamed of the new Christians make a boast of. Yea, verily, what is read or sung in numbers of places is either heresy, or frivolity, or immorality. Thence it happens, also, that there is neither happiness nor welfare in the land any more, which was not the case when we kept to the footsteps of our pious forefathers, who sang numbers of beautiful devotional hymns all the year through, from festival to festival, and who sang to the praise

Franciscan John Nas in the year 1568, 'were produced by them at first without limit or reason; one booklet of Psalms after another was manufactured, and all the songs must forsooth go by the name of Psalms.' Numbers of them 'were indeed too coarse to be given as examples;' for instance:

Martinus gave advice
To roast the priests
And to stoke the fire with monks,
And to lead the nuns into brothels,
Kyrie eleison.

Or

From deepest need—beat the priests to death,
And leave no monk alive, &c. &c.

But 'still they go on singing their bloodthirsty hymn, "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort."' From the hymn 'Lobt Gott, ihr frummen Christen' ('Praise God, ye pious Christians') Nas quoted the following stanza as an example of 'evangelical tenderness:'

Hark, hark, beloved brothers,
Ye who good Christians are,
Take each of you a banner,
We'll gain renown in war.

and glory of God and His saints at pilgrimages and penitential processions, and received thereby benediction and grace. Of such old pious songs and hymns many have been collected together in this little book, for the benefit of the Christian laity in general, so that not alone in church, but also in his home, or in the field at his work, he may sing praise to God, and abstain from all the worldly, unchaste, improper songs. Make use, O Christian reader! of this hymn-book for the praise and glory of God and of His saints, and guard yourself against the hymns and the teaching of the sects, and rejoice ye in the Lord.' In the preface to an enlarged edition of the year 1577 Walasser added, further, that 'there is no happiness or blessing to be expected until we Catholics abstain from sins and turn again to God in true penitence, and the sectarians also turn back from their heresies, and seek shelter again in the old Catholic Roman Church' (Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, pp. 649, 653). ** Concerning A. Walasser, see Paulus in the *Katholik*, 1895, ii. 453 ff.; Von Reinhardstöttner, *Forschungen*, ii. 54 ff., 58 ff., 83 ff.

We'll give the foe a pounding—
I mean the tonsured crew—
The drums and fifes are sounding,
Come on, ye Christians true.[1]

David Gregory Corner wrote later on: 'If one convincing example —not to mention others—is wanted of the Lutheran spirit, we recommend perusal of the first lines of the very last hymn which Luther wrote shortly before his death; it may be seen in the Nuremberg Lutheran hymn-book with the following superscription: "Dr. Martin Luther's last hymn, made for the farewell of the Roman Pope and for the children at Mid-Lent, instead of carrying a figure of Death out of the church, to drive out the said Pope, to the tune, 'Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort:'

Now let us drive the Pope from out
Christ's kingdom and God's house devout,
For murderously he has ruled,
And countless souls to ruin fooled.
Be off with you, you damnéd son,
You scarlet bride of Babylon,
Horror and antichrist thou art,
Lies, murder, cunning fill thy heart."'[2] . . .

It was a firmly rooted conviction of the Protestants that the Church hymns which Cyriacus Spangenberg wrote were also intended 'for opposing the heretics and their false doctrines.' And so they sang, for instance, 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her' ('Salvation has come down to us') against the papists and those who held the doctrine of good works, which indeed is by

[1] Schöpf, pp. 25–26. The last-quoted song is by Louis Hailman; it was inserted in the Marburg hymnal of 1549 (Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, iii. 369–370).

[2] Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 219. The hymn is not Luther's own composition, but he let it appear under his name. See Goedeke, *Dichtungen von M. Luther*, p. 155.

no means an unnecessary thing. 'The most intolerable part of it all,' they said, was 'when the authorities would not suffer them to sing hymns, as at the time of the Interim they were forbidden in many places to sing publicly "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort." In some places from respect of the Pope this hymn had been so altered that the Protestants replaced the word "Pope" by "devil," so that, against the papists' will, it was made clear what the Pope was and how good he was.'[1]

On the part of the Catholics the Protestant polemical hymns were repeatedly opposed by counter-hymns. Thus, for instance, Luther's 'Christliches Kinderlied'

> In Thy Word preserve us, Lord,
> Slay Pope and Turk with Thy sharp sword.

was answered by the hymn in Leisentrit's collection:

> Lord, in Thy Church us guard and keep,
> From the sects' doctrine save Thy sheep;
> Thy Church is one, without a rent,
> Known is it by Thine own garment.
>
> The sects' doctrines are made by man,
> Divided are they, void of plan,
> Misleading many a heart upright—
> No laughing matter in God's sight. . . .
>
> Show forth, O God, Thy mighty work
> That we may not suffer from the Turk;
> Help us, and may the sects malign
> Be cast out by Thy Word divine.[2] . . .

The hymn of Paul Speratus, 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her,'[3] was altered by the Spires hymn-book of

[1] *Von der Musica*, xxviii. 154.

[2] Six stanzas (Wackernagel, v. 1002). See the *Umdichtung im Rheinfelsischen Gesangbuch* of 1666, in Bäumker, ii. 295–296. Songs for and against Luther catalogued by Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 156–158, § 121.

[3] See above, p. 261 ff.

1599 and the Mayence Cantual of 1605 into the following:

Salvation certainly descends
Alone from mercy and from grace;
Christ by His passion made amends,
And with His blood redeemed our race;
His Cross, deserts, and death contain
Alone salvation, and we must
In these place all our trust.

Not faith alone, however, but faith made active through love, ensures justification and salvation before God:

Faith first within our hearts must be,
And give firm confidence,
Then works of love and charity
Build up faith's evidence;
These twain are like two arms that clasp
The Saviour in a loving grasp
And make Him their own property.

From these, then, hope has birth,
Which from despair doth save,
And in this world and earth
Makes hearts more brave:
We must have all these three
If we would savéd be,
Bare faith is nothing worth.[1]

Another begins:

Faith that through love has active grown,
According to God's Word and will,
In Jesus Christ, has power alone
The Father's wrath to still.[2] . . .

[1] Wackernagel, v. 1154–1156. See Bäumker, i. 156.

[2] Kehrein, ii. 365; Wackernagel, v. 1003. See Bäumker, ii. 208. In opposition to the hymn of Lazarus Spengler, 'Durch Adam's Fall ist ganz verderbt . . .' in Wackernagel, i. 48–49, stands the Catholic answer, 'Die Erbsünd kommt von Adam's Schuldt,' in Wackernagel, v. 988. To the Protestant 'Ein Kindelwiegen oder Wyhenachten Lied den vermainten Geistlichen zu Lob zugericht,' of the year 1524, and 'Der Tag der ist so frewdenreich Allen Curtisanen . . .' in Wackernagel, iii. 393–394, there followed the next year the answer of a Catholic 'Wider die falschen Evangelischen,' in Wackernagel, v. 913–917.

In a hymn for the Holy Communion in Vehe's hymn-book the Church's practice of administering to the laity in one kind only is defended, and the following advice given :

Let's fight no longer, for thereby
Love, too, within our hearts will die ;
This is my best advice to you :
Prove your true faith by action true.
Grace then will God soon give,
No more against the Church to strive,
And He will give us unity,
To last unto eternity.[1]

The concluding stanza of a 'Gesang von den heiligen sieben Sacramenten' which appeared in a 'Catholic Hymn-book,' published at Innsbruck in 1587, is strongly polemical :

Drive far as you can
That godless man,
Luther, and all his abettors,
Who with false lies
Our noble prize
Would steal from us like traitors.
One wants one,
Another none,
A third, two, three, or four ;
From which it's plainly seen
What spirit lurks
In all their works,
The serpent, that's to say,
Who from the earliest day
A liar has ever been ;
God help that we
Right soon may be
From heresies set free.[2]

In opposition to isolated hymns of this sort there occur in Protestant collections a large number of hymns against the Pope and the Catholics. To the number of these belongs, and is found in the Nuremberg, Erfurt

[1] Wackernagel, v. 947–948. [2] *Ibid.* 1134–1135.

and Zwickau Enchiridions of 1525–1528, in the Strassburg hymn-books of 1525–1543, and in other collections, a hymn composed by Michael Styfel, of not less than eighteen six-lined stanzas, against the Pope as Antichrist:

Himself as teacher he's erected,
Strangling is his chief delight;
His church and court must be protected
By ban and army's fright;
Who injures him straightway's ejected,
His chair has no support but might.

Therefore he looks with care around him,
Like a lion in his lair,
To see that none be hidden from him
Who to oppose him would dare;
Who doeth like this must be strangled,
In his net he will be entangled.[1]

A Zurich hymn-book of 1540 contains, in a hymn of Thomas Blarer, the following lines:

How much the churches I do hate,
Falsely called the spiritual estate,
The laity and clergy both—
I mean the rabble of the pope.[2]

The Strassburg congregational hymn-books of 1562 and 1566 accused the papists as follows:

From false lips does their talk proceed,
From disunited hearts,
Their doctrine's empty, baseless creed,
Which gives the conscience smarts;
With purgatory, absolution, mass
And ban, the world misled it has.
The Lord have pity on us!
For where the godless rabble rules
The people it perverts, befools,
In sacrilegious manner.[3]

In a hymn of eight stanzas in use at Greifswald,

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 79–80. [2] *Ibid.* 599. [3] *Ibid.* 650.

'Der Bapst hat sich zu Tode gefallen,' Luther is praised for having deprived 'the devil and Pope' of his kingdom and destroyed his power.[1]

A song of jubilee by Martin Schrod, 'Freudengeschrei über das gefallene Bapstum,' of thirty-seven strophes ending with Hallelujah, runs as follows:

There sit'st thou naked on bare earth,
Thy priesthood now of no more worth,
Banished or stricken dead.
'The seventh will his life forego,
He's acted like a villain,' so
The Sibyl to you said.
As Lucifer fell from heaven's throne,
So thou, too, dost receive thine own
Reward, like Pharaoh in the waters red.[2]

In opposition to the endless verses and songs written by the sectarians in vilification of the Pope, and used as hymns for singing in church, John Nas composed a few which made no pretence of being edifying or piously worded, but were frankly coarse and unpolished. 'For if I should attempt to be tender, the godless preachers,' Nas said, 'would not at all understand me.' In the year 1568 he published, 'Ein Widerschall und Gegenhall von den bösen Früchten der evangelosen Prädigkanten, so jetziger Zeit den christlichen Fried zustören mit Gemälen, Schreiben, Singen und Lehren, und die katholischen Kirchen calumniren.' It begins as follows:

I raise my voice in pity's name,
And must to every one proclaim
The evil that's at hand,
From Satan who's at liberty
To preach through all the land.

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 789; cf. iv. 742, No. 1098.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 974.

And that you may know aright
This wicked antichristian wight
Of Lucifer the son:
Good Catholics at first they were
But now all faithless grown. . . .

Of the Augsburg Confession he sang in 1588:

Luther's, Melckthon's confession
Which at Augsburg had its birth,
And was the mother of corruption,
Caused monks and fools much mirth.

By it have many customs wise
And old decayed and perished,
But yet the world elects to prize
And bow to Luther's calf the knees.[1]

Polemical effusions of this sort are lamentable. They are, however, of little importance compared to all the songs and hymns of those poets who considered the battle against the papacy as 'a sacred heirloom of Luther to be continually enlarged.'

The preacher Justus Jonas set the following lines to the tune of 'Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält:'

Shower Thy wrath on Rome, the town
Which Christ has long betrayed; on monk and priest
All godless, shower it down.
Shower Thy wrath on godless folk
Who know Thee not, Lord God,
On all the papists, devil's folk,
Who know not how to pray aright,
Who trust to their Italian wiles,
The Pope's and priests' intrigues.[2]

The preacher Bartholomew Ringwalt in a 'geistliches Kinderlied' taught the children to invoke God against the Roman Antichrist:

[1] *Sextæ Centuriæ prodromus* (1569), Bl. 252 ff.; Wackernagel, v. 1023–1030.

[2] Wackernagel, iii. 44.

He means to root out with the sword
All Thine own true children, Lord,
Who him and his decrees will not
Honour as they honour God.

It went on to pray that God would protect His bride 'against the devil's evil skin.'

Of Babylon who in such wise
Has soiled thine honour with her lies,
Cast her and her allies as well,
Into the abyss of hell.
As John has told us must befall—
John who in the Spirit saw it all.[1]

In another song the same poet inveighed against the Pope, 'Die Hur von Babylon:'

O Lord, protect Thy covenant
With the word of grace,
And cast down the loose woman
With her Easter-cakes
With which she daily doth Thee shame,
And sacrifice her mass doth name,
For the soul's redemption.

Allow not in Thy Church, in pity,
Such sacrilegious courses,
Burn down the ancient murder city
With chariots and horses.
That all may cry, She's gone, she's gone,
With all her wondrous glory,
The mighty Babylon![2]

The schoolmaster and deacon Louis Helmbold at Mühlhausen in Thuringia, in his collection entitled 'den gottseligen Christen zugerichtete geistliche Lieder' (1575), also repeatedly invoked God against the 'idolatrous papists:'

[1] *Die lautere Wahrheit*, edition of 1588, p. 443 ff.
[2] Wackernagel, iv. 991.

Command each Christian magistrate
Not in the land to tolerate
Prophets so idolatrous.
It is, indeed, a monstrous thing
The papacy's blood-thirst to learn
And still go beating in the wind:
The heart of everyone should burn,
And would each one be in the right,
He ought to fight, with all his might,
The Roman Antichrist's great evil,
And what more cometh from the devil.

To the tune of 'Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn' he sang:

The Antichristian popedom,
By which the world's deceived,
Has been by Thine evangel
To Luther's eyes revealed.

He does indeed go faster,
That wicked fiend, than we,
With all his Jesuiters,
But all that is against Thee
Must perish in disaster.[1]

In a 'New Te Deum laudamus of Pope Paul III.,' Erasmus Alber exclaims:

Thy sanctity accursed is,
Thou man of sin and Antichrist;
To Satan, thy head, thou hangest on,
Who nought but lie and strangle can.
The whole of the great shaven crew
Praise thee with loud hullabaloo.
Oh, thou, the holiest of all!
Oh, thou, the holiest of all!
Far holier than the crucified Christ! . . .
Thy rabble says the indulgence chest
Forgives sins quicker than the Christ.
From thee and thine idolatry,
We, God be praised, are henceforth free,
Daily we curse thee, thou pope-ass,
And Christ His Name we praise. . . .

[1] Wackernagel, iv. 645 ff., 668–669.

This song is followed by a prayer 'against the devilish kingdom of the Antichrist.' [1]

While religious and secular song thus simultaneously flooded the German book-market with didactic and polemical productions of very doubtful poetic worth, the once fruitful soil of natural poetry became a barren waste.

[1] Wackernagel, iii. 892–893. We have left out the worst verses against the Pope as 'the grossest criminal.' A new 'Vater Unser' by this same sacred songster began: 'Pope Father of all perjured Christians, slandered be thine accursed name. Thy kingdom come in hell. Thy devilish will must soon be subjugated,' and so forth (pp. 894–895). Philip Wackernagel, the most industrious Protestant hymnologist of the new epoch, expresses his delight in such productions. They were certainly not always, he says in his *Kirchenlied*, iii. 12, 'hymns of the most elevated Church style, suited to congregational hymnals, but frequently rather of the low popular style,' but they were 'all the same, songs of great earnestness, often of grimmest earnestness, even when humorous, as when the man of sin'—*i.e.* the Pope—'is shown up in all his maskings and mummeries, and shown up fearlessly as was the way of the Germans in those days. In those days!'

BOOK II

POPULAR LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

FOLKSONG—SONGS FOR OCCASIONS AND 'HIGH PRINCELY COURT POETRY'—MEISTERSINGING—HANS SACHS

In its transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century the German nation still evinced much versatility and originality in poetic creation, and also an inexhaustible love of song. All classes of society delighted in the beautiful treasury of poetry, the heritage of earlier times, which had now become the common property of all, and which brightened and transfigured daily life, and added fresh lustre and joy to the Church festivals and solemnities.[1] And even when the storm of the great religious and political disturbances broke loose and shattered the unity and strength of the people, the young generation, which had grown up in the midst of these terrible agitations, preserved still for a long period the 'old, noble love of the beautiful songs which had been born in the hearts of their ancestors.'[2] While the social organisation was tottering on its foundations, and complaints of internal disruption, sanguinary fighting, and growing distress among the

[1] See our statements, vol. i. p. 264 ff.

[2] *Von der Werlte Eitelkeit*, Bl. A^2.

lower classes filled all Germany, many of the old melodies were still heard amid the wails of lamentation, and until after the middle of the sixteenth century occasional additions of charming and edifying songs were still made to the old repertory.

But a new spring-time of poetry could not blossom out at a period when sedition, devastation, and hostile factions filled the land. Hatred, envy and greed, mutual vilification and abuse, became the ruling factors in the life of the times, and all joyousness of heart, all the deeper and nobler feelings of the soul, whence the old folksongs had welled up so plentifully, were crushed and stifled.[1] All that was henceforth produced in the way of secular folksong was, for the most part, mechanical and vulgar, at best only akin to the common type of religious poetry of the period, the chief characteristics of which were didacticity and absence of lyric feeling. In either case, whether folksong or hymns, the diction was nothing more than dry, unpliant prose turned into rhyme, with the additional demerit of being unutterably diffuse.

Even in the wine and drinking songs contemplation

[1] Prutz, *Vorlesungen*, p. 49, says: 'The Reformation brought in a new springtime of poetry.' 'But where,' asks Frederick William Arnold, one of the soundest investigators among the non-Catholics, 'where are the artistic achievements produced by this so-called blossoming period of popular poetry during the first half of the sixteenth century? Not a single important result can we lay hands on.' 'The blossoming period of German civic life, as well as of German national song, was over and past.' 'The Reformation had been as a firebrand thrown among the German nation, which swept everything away with its devouring flames. Church and State had tottered on their foundations, all things had threatened to become disjointed, everyone had believed that the world was coming to an end. This was no time for the soft accents of our innocent folksong to make themselves heard.' In Chrysander's *Jahrbücher*, ii. 21, 169.

loomed large, and they were no longer the expression of mirth and joviality, but of licentiousness. Here is a specimen :

To be merry and jolly is my way,
And I mean to stick to it,
And even should the devil be grieved
I shall not be moved from it. . . .
And so I wish you a drunken night,
And eke a drunken morning.

Or again :

A woman wanted to go drink wine,
He ro ri ma to ri,
She wouldn't let her husband go with her,
Guretzch, guretzch, gu ritzi maretzch,
He ro ri ma to ri.
If you won't let me go and drink with you,
He ro ri ma to ri,
Then I'll go to another woman,
Guretzch. . . .[1]

A singer of the 'Katzenjammer'[2] complains that his brain has gone, that he is mad and stupid :

Oh, woe, I cannot go !
What has befallen me ?
I cannot stand upon my feet,
How I have forgotten myself !

I stagger and fall on a bench,
Oh, woe, I cannot sit !
My stomach swells, it's over-full,
The wine is oozing out of it.[3]

Aegidius Albertinus quotes the following as a popular drinking song :

[1] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Gesellschaftslieder*, pp. 155–156 ; Goedeke and Tittmann, *Liederbuch aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, pp. 129, 133. Cf. Menzel, *Deutsche Dichtung*, ii. 348.

[2] 'Katzenjammer,' a piece of student slang meaning 'the after effects of drinking.'—(Translator.)

[3] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Gesellschaftslieder*, p. 174. Cf. the *Schlemmer Vorsatz*, p. 156.

We'll drink and swill till the morrow,
We'll be jolly and free from sorrow. . . .
We've never from anyone learned
Who hither from hell's returned,

And told us what there goes on,
That conviviality's wrong.
So drink thy fill, lie down, and then
Get up and drink thy fill again.[1] . . .

In Caspar Stein's 'Peregrinus' there are drinking songs to the following effect:

Drink thyself full, lie down, and then
Get up and drink thy fill again,
Vomit from liver and lung,
That's to say . . . over the tongue:
For thus writes the great Alexander,
One surfeit drives out another.[2] . . .

As regards military songs the Landsknechts had a collection of ballads full of fresh, exhilarating joy in

[1] *De Conviviis*, pp. 65[b]–66.

[2] Contributed by H. Frischbier in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Psychologie*, ix. 213–219. In the songs of the sixteenth century incidents of lower life were represented with a fidelity often bordering on brutality, and the musical accompaniments played willingly and with great variety the most extensive part in this representation (Reissmann, ii. 37–38). Gervinus (ii. 258, 275–276) says concerning the decline of folksong: 'It may in general be assumed that in proportion as vulgarity and bluntness become more flagrant in the bawdy songs, and coarseness in the drinking songs, the songs are of later date.' 'The worst stage of coarseness in folksong came in with the period of demoralisation in the sixteenth century.' 'Towards the end of the fifteenth century the coarse and savage element was more and more discarded both from romantic stories in prose and from romantic poetry and song. The frightful and blood-curdling stories of vengeance, the horrible scenes of savagery, robbery, and murder which entertained and delighted the dissolute, wandering people of earlier ages in their theatre—the public-house—were replaced at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century by tales of a more human, tender, and touching kind. The difference appears to some extent in the text, but very decidedly in the music. Later on, however, and even in the seventeenth century, the style of romance literature frequently reverted to the taste of the demoralised epochs.'

battle; but there were others which depicted, more vividly than agreeably, the ways and manners of the soldiers even in friendly countries:

Wine in plenty for Brother Veit,
Plenty to eat, that something be left over;
Drink on tick, with nothing part,
So pay the landlord that he shall cry for a doctor.

'When they draw near a village,' writes a contemporary, 'they sing the following jargon to the accompaniment of their drums:

Pide, pide, pum,
Beware, O peasant, I come!
And I'm not pious like some,
I steal and rob *ad libitum*.'

Another song was as follows:

A Landsknecht and a bacon pig
Must be stuffed full alway,
For neither of them knows what day
They'll strangled be and stabbed.[1]

The love songs at this period lost all sincerity of feeling and tenderness of thought; under the influence of growing demoralisation the erotic element gained very undue preponderance in this department also. 'There are nowadays,' wrote Katherine Zell, in 1534, 'so many scandalous songs of men and women sung everywhere, even to children, songs in which vice, adultery, and other disgraceful things are put before the old and the young, and the world insists on having them sung.'[2] 'The wicked enemy has brought things to such a pass,' said Martin Bucer nine years later, 'that this beautiful art and gift of music is almost solely used, or rather misused, for voluptuousness;

[1] G. Scherer, *Postille*, Bl. 438[b], 439, 543.
[2] Wackernagel, *Bibliographie*, p. 554.

and it is not only that this is a very grievous sin, inasmuch as music is an excellent gift of God, but also that it makes all words that are set to it penetrate all the more powerfully into the heart and the feelings. Hence it is terrible to think what harm may be done to the young and to others by the devilish songs of passion they hear sung, because what is already by itself too alluring to the senses becomes still more so by the aid of music, and sinks deeper into the heart.' [1]

Multitudes of drinking songs and amorous songs were distributed on leaflets. 'Every year,' John Herolt complains in 1542, 'they make fresh songs, which our daughters are obliged to learn by heart, and of which the burden generally is how the man was deceived by the woman, or how the parents' care of a daughter had been all in vain, and how she had been seduced. And these things, moreover, are related as if they were good actions, and the wickedness which has succeeded so well is praised. The corrupt subject-matter is dressed up with shameless words of double meaning, so that scandal itself could not be more scandalous. And by means of this trade numbers make their living, especially in the Netherlands. If justice had its right course the authors of such songs would soon learn to sing songs of tribulation under the rod of the executioner. As it is, however, those who corrupt the young live on the fruits of their criminal work. And there are actually some parents who think that their daughters are not up in the ways of good society if they are not acquainted with these songs.' [2]

[1] Wackernagel, p. 584.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 23-24, where several more similar remarks by contemporaries are quoted.

Cyriacus Spangenberg complained in 1598 that 'in many places the authorities allowed everybody to sing revolting, indecent, godless songs in the streets and at their work.'[1] In his 'Ehespiegel' ('Mirror of Marriage') of 1570, Spangenberg inveighed against the 'singing-dances,' in which men and women, young and old, joined together, forming a ring.' These in themselves, he said, 'are not reprehensible, so long as improper songs are left out; but nowadays people seem to think that those who can sing the most filthy, shameless songs, and introduce the utmost amount of impropriety into the proceedings, form the life and soul of the party.'[2] In opposition to 'an abominable song which it is now very much the fashion to sing to an accompaniment of fifes and fiddles, with dancing and jumping,' a 'new beautiful sacred song' was published at Nuremberg in 1571.[3] 'Is it not beyond measure shameless and devilish,' asks the writer of an 'Ermahnung wider Huren- und Buben-Schand' of 1557, 'that in many places sword-dances are performed by men almost naked, with singing of lewd, scandalous songs (Huren- und Venuslieder), fresh specimens being made and sold every year?'[4]

Collections of improper love songs appeared under the titles 'Venus-Kränzlein,' 'Venus-Glöcklein,' 'Neue amorische Gesänglein mit hierzu allerseits artigen und schnlichen Texten' ('New amorous ditties with all sorts

[1] *Von der Musica*, p. 154.

[2] *Ehespiegel*, p. 294 ff.; cf. Aegidius Albertinus, *De conviviis*, pp. 74–75.

[3] Weller, *Annalen*, ii. 435, No. 588.

[4] Without locality, 1557; two sheets. In 1555 a number of people were taken into custody in Dresden for having admittedly performed all sorts of dances in a state of nudity, or with nothing but shirts on them, at night-time in the churchyard round the church, and on the graves (Falke, *Gesch. des Kurfürsten August*, pp. 331–332).

of pretty and passionate texts'), 'Musikalische Sträusslein von schönen wohlriechenden Blümlein, so in Venus Garten gewachsen' ('Musical nosegays of beautiful sweet-smelling flowers, which are grown in the garden of Venus'), 'Güldener Venuspfeil' ('Golden arrows of Venus'), 'Musikalische Wollust, allerhand newe, anmüthige, amorosische Sachen' ('Musical treasure of all sorts of new, inspiriting, amorous things'), and so forth.[1]

The number of books of songs was extraordinarily large, and many publishers of new collections took care to designate earlier ones as morally objectionable. Thus Paul von der Älst, in the preface to his song-book 'Blumen und Ausbund allerhand auserlesener weltlicher züchtiger Lieder und Reime' ('Flowers and selections of all sorts of exquisite, secular, chaste songs and rhymes') of the year 1602, says: 'In many different places there have been printed certain German books of songs which are full of all sorts of disgraceful, immoral and good-for-nothing songs, by which the young are enticed and stirred into light-mindedness.' He himself, on the contrary, had only printed the loveliest, most beautiful and most chaste and innocent little songs, in order 'in some measure to divert young lads and maidens from vice and immorality, and to keep them to the paths of virtue.' And yet his own collection contains not a few of the most thoroughly immoral songs.[2] This is also the case with the Frankfort booklet of songs of 1584, dedicated to 'all young lads and modest maidens.'[3]

George Forster, whose collection of 1539 forms one

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 70, 75, 79, 80, 81.

[2] Alphabetical catalogue of the songs in Goedeke, ii. 42–44, No. 36. Cf. Hoffmann von Fallersleben in the *Weimarer Jahrb.* ii. 320–356.

[3] The title in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 42, No. 38[a].

of the most important sources for folksong melodies, presented an immaculate front to the public, but all the same he composed one of the most abominable indecencies.[1] A 'Peasants' Calendar' also, which is not wanting in lasciviousness,[2] was set by him to music for four voices. The composers, even Orlandus Lassus, selected by special preference materials which were by no means suitable for musical treatment, but which it is necessary to mention in order to give a right impression of the taste and tendency of the period. Lassus, for instance, arranged as four- or six-part songs such subjects as a basket-maker who beats his wife because she will not say 'God be praised, the basket is made!'; a valiant young woman who has curbed and tamed her wicked step-mother; the cries of distress of a husband at the palpable ill-usage of his stronger half; and, in contrast, a wife's complaints of her husband who is going to ruin; and even an out-and-out tasteless song of noses ('Nasenlied'): 'Hört zu ein neu's Gedicht, von Nasen zugericht' ('Listen to a new poem, written about noses').[3]

[1] See Ambros, iii. 397. 398. 'Forster does verily make up for this by a truly appalling "moral song" ("Ach Mägdlein fein"). The presence of the moral here is as objectionable in its conspicuousness as is the absence of a moral in the other song.'

[2] Von Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied*, pp. 135–143. The calendar contains, indeed, more than 'some coarsenesses' (cf. vol. xlvii.).

[3] From E. Bohn, 'Orl. de Lassus als Komponist weltlicher deutscher Lieder,' in the *Jahrb. fur Munchener Geschichte*, i. 188 ff. In the song of noses 'all possible and impossible varieties of the human organ of smell are described with appalling truth to nature. The different epithets counted up in this song are so coarsely original that one can scarcely be mistaken in assuming that they belong to the jargon of the very lowest classes of the Munich people.' 'Lassus has persistently resisted the temptation to illustrate indecent scenes by music. Sexual misdemeanours, such as his colleague, Ivo de Vento, published with the utmost indifference, are not introduced into his songs—a proof this of his higher artistic

The 'simple melodies' of the genuine folksongs were only referred to mockingly, and their original wording fell so quickly into oblivion that even Forster in his book of songs said emphatically he had often striven in vain to recover it, and therefore 'when the old text was missing, or the rhymes seemed to him inappropriate, he had substituted fresh words.'[1]

The increased cultivation of the art of song, and the introduction of all sorts of Italian forms and melodies, brought folksong to ruin.[2]

Every book-fair brought fresh madrigals, canzonets, motets, terzinas, intradas, villanelles, galliards, courants, songs from Padua and Naples, saltarellas, voltas, ballets, parodies, passamezzos and such like. Italian modes of sentiment and forms of poetry gained wider and wider ground, all naturalness and national charac-

nature and more enlightened conception of art.' 'Lassus is at his best in folk, drinking, and love songs. His folksongs have not, it is true, throughout the naïve sincerity which charms and touches us in the old folksongs, but they are not wanting in traces of it.' 'One of his best love songs, "Wohl kommt der Mai," gives the impression that the composer, at the end, was seized with penitence for having at the beginning sung so heartily and naturally, and therefore hastens to show, by the most complicated and intricate syncopes, that he is able, even when there is no occasion for it, to write in a quite terribly learned and artistic manner.'

[1] Wackernagel, *Gesch. der deutschen Litteratur*, pp. 395, 397.

[2] ** See Steinhausen, *Die Anfänge des franz. Litteratur- u. Kulturein-flusses*, p. 375.—Riehl, *Kulturstudien*, p. 349 ff., points out in a section on the 'Volksgesang' how admirably a nation can educate itself musically, but only so long as 'no foreign hands take hold of the plough.' The people only take delight in that which 'is quite their own.' Only a song 'whose form and idea have grown out of the heart of the people itself, and expresses nothing but what this particular tribe understands and feels called and compelled to utter, only a "home-grown" song of this sort is at all times a sound and true folksong.' 'Musical forms and ideas, which are foreign to the organism of any tribe of people, which are poured in from outside, undigested and indigestible matter, are extremely unwholesome.'

teristics disappeared by degrees, and most of the songs were stuffed with learning, allegories, mythological names and allusions, foreign words and phraseology.[1]

The outward form of the compositions was more and more worked up in proportion as the subject-matter became coarser and ruder. In place of the old songs of nature, of love, of leave-takings, &c., full of deep and tender feeling, bawdy and drinking songs came into fashion, obscenity of all sorts was put into the form of songs, songs in honour of marriages and festivities, songs on names (acrostics), echoes, 'Motti,' and so forth. A specially favourite form of composition was the 'Quodlibets,' which consisted of a number of beginnings of well-known songs strung together in the most inconsequent and contradictory manner.[2] These last are typical of the confused, discordant, troubled life of the times. A Quodlibet of the year 1610, 'Sieben lächerliche Geschnältz' (seven ridiculous pairs of lovers), is conspicuous among all the rest for its indecencies.[3]

At the same time the delight that was taken in 'exquisite poetic' productions from abroad led to the composition of 'Tender Venus sweetnesses, and pastoral songs' in a strange mixture of languages. In the three-

[1] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Gesellschaftslieder*, viii.-x. For the rest, German song in the second half of the sixteenth century was by no means 'completely under the dominion of Italians and Netherlanders' (cf. E. Bohn in the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 185–186).

[2] See Ambros, iii. 397; Gervinus, ii. 284 ff.; Hoffmann von Fallersleben in the *Weimarer Jahrb.* ii. 320 ff.

[3] See the '*Mitteilungen von A. Lübben*' in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xv. 48–65. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, who in the *Weimarer Jahrbuch*, iii. 126 ff., erroneously places this Quodlibet in the year 1620, expresses regretful astonishment that such wanton things should have been published at the sad and serious time of the Thirty Years' War then beginning (cf. Lübben, p. 49).

part 'German songs,' published by Nicholas Zangius at Vienna in 1611, there occur the following stanzas :[1]

Therefore now I'll diligently
Visit Venus-school,
To study courtly gallantry
And master every rule.
O Amor free, preceptor be,
And teach me rationally
To practise always gallantry.

The Venus-school

. . . is so privileged
And everywhere so free,
That a gallant with virtue hedged
And true courtliness
Even should he be disgusted, &c.[2]

After the Thirty Years' War had already begun to spread its terrors over Germany, the Leipzig music director, John Hermann Schein, still went on singing 'beautiful flowery and ornate rhymes' about Phyllis and Amaryllis, about the arch-rogue Amor and his tricks, and also about nature ; for example :

Now have your leaves returned once more, ye woods and myrtle groves,
Your buds show green *allègrement*, rejoice in chorus all.
He (Amor) that many tenderly and exquisitely paints,
Himself again presents, &c.[3]

In addition to such disquisitions on 'sweet amorous

[1] ** The noticeable feature in these verses, and one which cannot be indicated in a translation, is the introduction of foreign, Germanised words, such as 'visitieren,' 'gallanisieren,' 'Amor,' 'Präceptor,' 'privilegiert,' 'disgustiert,' 'corbisiert.'—(Translator.)

[2] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Gesellschaftlicher Lieder*, x. note (cf. pp. 45–46).

[3] Gervinus, ii. 287. Compare the beginnings of numerous songs of this sort in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 71–73. ** Concerning Joh. Herm. Schein, cf. the monograph of Prüfer, Leipzig, 1895.

delights' there appeared a mass of all sorts of 'rhymed novelties' from public and private life, rhymed medicine-books, manuals for peasants, health-receipts, rules of weather, hints concerning domestic furniture, concerning horse-riding, and the best way of training horses.[1]

How barren and soulless popular poetry had become is shown also by the countless *vers d'occasion* which were concocted in honour of important family events. Thus, for instance, the preacher Bartholomew Ringwalt, who passed as an admirable poet and whose didactic poetry had the widest circulation, composed verses in honour of all the guests present at the wedding of the daughter of a preacher in 1588, and of a bookseller in 1595. For each separate guest he made a separate verse. Of the one he said:

> The worthy Henry Meder is
> A sheriff and innkeeper,
> He's very fond of eating young chicken
> And the liver of the pike.

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[1] See Gervinus, ii. 280 ff., 382, 401-402. 'The struggles of actual life dragged poetry down to such low depths that the art seemed gradually drawing to its end.' 'There was no class that did not occupy itself with rhyming, or that abstained from putting the coarsest, the vulgarest, the most purely prosaic and industrial things into verse.' 'Historical incidents, also, of the most ordinary kind, and theological controversies, which in no manner of way lent themselves to poetic form, were put into verse.' The high-falutin way in which everything was treated is seen, for instance, in the poetic description of 'a signorial shooting match at Ulm in 1556.' It begins with the words:

> Eternal God, upon Thy throne,
> I pray thee leave me not alone,
> Thy Holy Spirit to me give,
> In Whom all truth and wisdom live,
> Thy grace divine shed on me too,
> Without which no one aught can do,
> That I my poem may complete.

And so forth, in Scheible, *Schaltjahr*, iv. 341.

Of another:

The very learned Mr. George Sausagemaker
(As he is called)
Is now investigating high matters;
He is no one's antagonist.

Of a third, the burgomaster of Frankfort-on-the-Oder:

God keep him long time hale and fresh,
As all his children wish it;
He often gives me mountain fish,
Wine, Swedish cheese and plaices.[1]

Of melancholy import, on the other hand, were the rhymes published by the Kündorf preacher, John Ebert, as, for instance, the story of 'Seven Christian persons at Rohra, who during a terrific thunderstorm of long duration were suddenly overtaken by inundation, and disastrously buried with different buildings.'

Claus Sturm, a pious man and tailor,
Margaret his wife, alas! alas!
Anna, their daughter, a girl about
Six years old, or maybe more;
Hanslein, their little son, about
Two years old, could not get away.
These four people all at once
With house and farm were drowned.

In some lines that follow we are told:

The barber Halbhaus, who was drowned,
Beside a cowshed tottering sunk.
With a shed, a horse, and a pig-sty
Stephen Möller away did hie.[2]

On the death of princes and lords the muse of tributary verses not seldom took the opportunity of

[1] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *B. Ringwaldt*, pp. 28–31.

[2] *Einfältige Wetterpredigt bei erbarmlicher Leichbestattung u. s. w.* (Schleusingen, 1607), Bl. F^2–G.

producing some sort of funeral oration, even if she did not soar quite so high as the preacher John Strack, who, on the death of the Elector John Casimir of the Palatinate, wrote :

> Ye vales and mountains, trees and grass,
> No dew shall fall on you until
> With me ye lamentation make.[1] . . .

A special and separate class of poetry consisted of the so-called '*priviligierte und professionierte hochfürstliche Hofpoesie*' (privileged and professional high-princely court poetry), which had to do duty on every kind of joyful or sorrowful occasion, at princely weddings, baptisms, and deaths, at court festivities and other 'exalted princely recreations.' Philip Agricola, in 1581, sang in honour of the 'Ring-running of John George, Margrave of Brandenburg,' and published in the same year in poetic enthusiasm a rhymed 'Glückwünschendes Gespräch der Taube und Nachtigall über die Niederkunft Frauen Elisabeth, Johann Georgs Gemahlin' ('Congratulations on the delivery in childbirth of Frau Elizabeth, wife of John George, in the shape of a rhymed dialogue between a dove and a nightingale').[2] The Brandenburg court musician, George Pfund, in 1610, enriched the treasury of Parnassus with more than 2,000 verses under the title of, 'Freud, Leid und Hoffnung, das ist etliche denkwürdige Sachen von unserer hohen Obrigkeit und löblichsten Herrschaften in der hochlöblichen Chur und Mark Brandenburg' ('Joy, sorrow, and hope—that is to say, some memorable events among our high rulers and most laudable

[1] See our remarks, vol. ix. pp. 166, 167.
[2] Weller, *Annalen*, i. 337, Nos. 236, 237.

lordships in the highly laudable Electorate and Mark of Brandenburg').[1]

John Ditmar sang in 1583 of the 'Heimfahrt und Beilager Friedrich Wilhelms, Herzogen zu Sachsen;' George Molysdorfinus in 1585 of the 'Edle Rautenkranz mit seinem schönen Geheimnis, welches bedeut den herrlichen Einzug des Ehrenkönigs Johann Christian ins hochlöbliche Chur- und fürstliche Haus zu Sachsen;' ('Of the noble garland of rue with its beautiful secret, which signifies the glorious entry of the illustrious King John Christian into the most laudable electoral and princely house of Saxony'); Balthasar Mentzius von Nimeck sang of the 'Eigentliche Bildnis des durchlauchtigsten Fürsten Augusti, Herzogen zu Sachsen.'

> If anyone deserves praise here upon earth,
> It is this Elector of so great worth.[2]

The court poets in Saxony, however, were not held in high esteem. In the Dresden court book (of accounts) they were included among the 'menials of the court,' in company with the cymbal-beater, lion-tamers, and rat-catchers.[3]

In nearly all the principalities 'there flourished poetic geniuses of this kind who could not sing enough of the glory of the most laudable lords and of their joyful festive proceedings and expeditions.'[4] One of the most extraordinary books in praise of princes is the one dedicated to Duke Christopher of Württemberg under the title 'Lustgart neuer deutscher Poeterei in fünf Büchern beschrieben und gedicht durch Matthiam

[1] See Friedländer, xi. note.
[2] Weller, *Annalen*, i. 340 ff., Nos. 250, 261, 289.
[3] Müller, *Forschungen*, i. 196.
[4] See the writings quoted in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 326, No. iv. ff.

Holzwart von Harburg, zu Ehren dem fürstlichen hochlöblichen Haus Würtenberg' ('Pleasure garden of German poetry in five books, written,' &c., &c.).[1]

Pagan mythology and ancient and modern history are here jumbled together in the most cheerful manner, and adapted to Württemberg. The versifier has a high opinion of his vocation: 'Most certainly,' he says in the preface, 'that man uttered the truth who wrote of the poets: God is in us; we fathom the heavenliness of heaven.' 'I do not doubt but that many cynical sneerers, and coarse, unintelligent blockheads will laugh at and ridicule this my pleasant, but very arduous, work and poetry, and will regard me as half a Pagan or an idolater; but I am indifferent to them all, for to the pure all things are pure, to the impure all is impure. On the other hand, I am equally certain that from all intelligent artists and lovers of all honourable diversions and virtues I shall obtain some renown and honour.' The supreme God Jupiter was certainly, as the poet informs the reader in the numerous marginal notes intended to explain the rhymes, 'a great scoundrel and debauchee,' but it appears to him highly praiseworthy that this celestial potentate, in company with all the other gods and goddesses, looked with special favour on the House of Württemberg. Diana above all was its patron.

> Now when before Jove's majesty she stood,
> 'Oh, bounteous god, oh, father good!'
> She cried, 'thou knowest well how strong
> The love, how great the care that all along
> I for the noble House of Würtemberg
> Have had, because in my own work

[1] At the end is inscribed: 'Printed at Strassburg by Josiah Rihel, 1568. Folio.'

Skilful it's been and gladsome ever,
The hunt, the chase neglected never ;
Me at all times they've glorified
By hunting daily, far and wide,
Night and day.' . . .

'Diana came down in person to Count Ulrich,' after having first given the following explanation to Minerva :

. . . . Rather than suffer
Württemberg to be forsaken
I'd be a child's mother on this earth,
Though that would be more terrible to me
Than if this instant I should die.

'The gods all offer to do something for the honour of the laudable House of Württemberg : first, Juno gives chaste wives and obedient children ;' Jupiter 'sends Mercury to Worms to the Diet, where Duke Eberhart VI. was ;' on the other hand, 'the Furies make a league with Lucina' to prevent the Duke from having any offspring.[1]

In contradistinction to the plain, simple folksong of old, there had grown up, in the golden period of the Middle Ages, a class of poetry known as artistic court song, which, not content with simple lyric expression of poetic feeling, sought to embody thoughts and sentiments in the artistic form of architecturally constructed and mellifluous stanzas. In the hands of genuine poets this method escaped the snare of barren, soulless formalism. The spirit, the thought maintained supremacy, and the form adapted itself easily, harmoniously and naturally to the controlling ideas.

[1] Pp. 101, 106, 108, 133[b], 145[b]. 'It will soon come to this,' so the Meissen Superintendent Strigenicius complained in his sermons on Jonas 50[a], 'that no carmen will any more be written or printed, without invocations in them to the pagan gods and goddesses, Apollo, or Phœbus, and the Muses.'

However metrically rigid the stanzas might be, they were still, as a rule, instinct with the same warm life that had pulsated in the primitive folksongs. Even when these ornate lyrical compositions came down to the status of burgher-song in the halls of the guilds, there was still sufficient poetic force in the national spirit to save the diction, as a rule, from stiffening into mere outward formalism. Nevertheless the danger was there, and it became greater and greater. When everything was done according to definite prescriptions and rules, when even pleasures and entertainments had their fixed, unalterable days, and mechanical handiwork derived its best practical support from a strictly organised system of membership, it was only too likely that art also would fall under the same tyranny of system. Schools of song were erected, fixed rules and forms established for the structure of strophes and for making rhymes; the pursuit of art was regulated down to the minutest details, and the same extreme and rigid exactness with which all mechanical work is carried on, was imposed on what should be the most spontaneous of all arts, viz. song.

Under favourable conditions the poetic spirit might, even in these surroundings, have triumphed over the form, for the atmosphere of the guildhalls did not exclude the most tender sentiments. The guilds had also their summer festivals in the open air: all the different utterances of folk poetry could find echoes among the worthy artisans and craftsmen. The 'Meistergesang' of the fifteenth century is by no means completely deadened by pedantic artificiality and barren pedagogy.

When, however, the towns, and with them the guilds, were drawn into the terrible whirlpool of political and

religious revolution, when the old stability of faith was lost, and almost the whole fabric of national life was torn by dissolute quarrels and party intrigues, it was inevitable that Meistersinging also should lose all artistic impulse and spirit, and should be reduced to pure mechanicality. The harmless desire to rise from pupil to school friend, to singer, poet, 'Meister,' became adulterated by perilous ambition among the lower classes to rise out of their humble position, and, under cover of the 'evangel,' to take their share in politics.

In place of the earlier spirit of good fellowship a bitter, odious spirit of religious controversy prevailed; the barrenness of the polemical preaching which was everywhere in vogue pervaded all the moralising didacticism of the guildhalls. With most exemplary jejuneness the 'Meistersingers' and their pupils dressed up the highest objects of Christian faith and morality in homely twaddling rhymes, whilst, in fighting the papacy, the rudest street jargon, abuse of every kind, even vulgarity and obscenity, were considered allowable. Hence, in spite of careful and anxious cultivation of outward form, the poetic art, pursued on the lines of mechanical precision, became distinguished by utter absence of taste, and when once the finer artistic sense had been extinguished, the driest and prosiest of prose came to be regarded as poetry if only the metre and rhymes had been carefully worked up. Mere artificiality took the place of art in nearly all the innumerable rhymed productions—as coarse as they were empty and unideal—which flooded town and country. There was no weapon of criticism to separate the wheat from the chaff and tares, no higher culture to point the poets to the classic models; but the worst feature of all was

that the poetisers gave themselves out as true heirs and successors of the famous knightly poets, as the only legitimate representatives of 'divine poesie,' and posed as the chief tribunal of art, from which it resulted that the healthy grit of the national spirit of poetry, which in its own sphere always strikes the natural vein, disappeared more and more.

The most comprehensive and distinguished of the Meistersingers, and the one therefore who was longest held up as a proverbial model, was the Nuremberg shoemaker, Hans Sachs, who far surpassed all his guild associates in poetic endowment, and who was one of the most fruitful and facile poets of all times.

He was the son of a tailor, and was born on November 5, 1494. At the age of seven he was sent to the Latin school, and in his fifteenth year he entered on the business of shoemaker. After two years' apprenticeship he started off as journeyman, and wandered over the greater part of Germany. At Innsbruck he received instruction in Meistersinging from the linen-weaver, Leonard Nonnenbeck; at Frankfort-on-the-Main he started a school of Meistersinging, and on his return to Nuremberg he composed, in 1515, his first didactic poem (Biblical). Having attained the position of master in his shoemaker's trade, he married in 1519, and lived over forty years in happy wedlock. After death had robbed him of his wife in 1560, he contracted at the age of sixty-eight another marriage with a young woman of twenty-seven, and he died universally esteemed in January 1576. His children, two sons and five daughters, had all pre-deceased him.[1]

[1] * The most exhaustive and the best work on H. Sachs that we possess

The whole number of his poems, over 6,000, may be said to represent at least half a million verses.[1]

at the present day we owe to a Frenchman, Ch. Schweitzer, *Un poète allemand au XVI^e siècle. Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de Hans Sachs*, Paris, 1887 (pub. 1889). Cf. Rachel in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xxiv. 265 ff., where also other new writings are catalogued. For the newest information concerning Hans Sachs, which comes in part from the jubilee celebration of 1893, see, besides, E. Petzel in the *Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1895, Beil. No. 288, especially the *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Litteraturgesch.*, vols. v. vi. vii. and viii. Drescher here passes a very unfavourable sentence on the monograph of R. Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit. Ein Lebens und Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1894). According to M. Hermann, also (*Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1894, p. 809), Genée's work is 'a remarkable falling-off from the "popular Hans Sachs booklet" published by the same author in 1888. Genée in his preface promises a "Kulturbild" of the time of Hans Sachs, and he also announces that he means "to represent the man Hans Sachs clearly and vividly in his entire life."' Both these tasks, however, according to Hermann, have lately been 'incomparably better accomplished by the Frenchman Schweitzer.' The pamphlet of A. Bauch, *Barbara Harscherin*, Hans Sachs's second wife, is of especial value as regards the history of culture and for correction of opinions that have hitherto passed muster. *Beiträge zur Biographie des Dichters.* Nürnberg, 1896. See also the *Gemerkbüchlein des Hans Sachs* (1555–1561), with an appendix, *Die Nürnberger Meistersinger-Protocolle* of 1595–1605, published by Karl Drescher (*Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des* 16 *u.* 17. *Jahrh.*, pub. by W. Braune, Nos. 419–152). Halle, 1898.

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 412. 'When on January 1, 1567, he counted up all his poems, he found sixteen books of Meister songs with 4,275 numbers in 275 Meister tunes, of which thirteen were his own composition. Besides these there were seventeen books of recitations and one unfinished one, which makes eighteen, in which there were 208—on June 9, 1563, the number had mounted to 204 (Buch iv. 3, 118)—merry comedies, sad tragedies, and amusing plays, most of which were performed in Nuremberg and other towns, far and wide; besides which there were about 1,700 religious and secular maxims, proverbs, fables, and farces. Further, seven dialogues in prose, a quantity of Psalms and other Church hymns; also adapted hymns, vaudevilles and songs of soldiers, a number of ballads, seventy-three altogether, with tunes, "bad and very vulgar," of which sixteen were original ones of his own. According to his enumeration, and seeing that the 208 dramatic pieces were included in the 1,700 poems, and the seven dialogues under the seventy-three, the number of his poems may be computed at 6,048, "rather more than less." After January 1, 1567, several more came to light, and a few writings, which appeared to be original, must be taken

Such a mass of poetry would be truly astounding if it were a question of finished work. The secret, however, of the enormous quantity lies in the Meistersinger knack. After Hans Sachs had once learnt to 'poetise' he 'knew how to do it.' He did not carry his theme about with him, revolving it over and over again in his mind, neither did he go through the agonies of wrestling with unmanageable material until he had transformed it into the spiritual and ideal; no subject appeared either difficult or unpoetical to him. Just as with perfect facility he turned the whole Bible, bit by bit, into rhyme, so also did he deal with the whole of ancient mythology and with all sorts of old sagas and stories. Wherever he lighted on a fable or a story from the Greek or Roman world, on an Italian novel, a German farce, an ephemeral debate, or even a simple anecdote, he straightway clapped it into his poetic mill. No need for him to worry himself about working up the material. With rhymes always at his finger ends, all he required was the particular book or story he was going to turn into verse, writing materials and table.

At this table there sat

(so wrote his pupil Adam Puschman)

An old fellow that
Was grey and white like a dove, and had
A great big beard, and behold
In a beautiful book he read
That was finely studded with gold.[1]

into account. The Meister songs were reserved for adding lustre to the répertoire of the singing school. Of the remainder there appeared in three folio volumes, according to his directions, 788 pieces during his lifetime, and after his death two folio volumes with 612 numbers.'

[1] Concerning the unusually extensive library of Hans Sachs, see the article of R. Genée in the *Beil. zur Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1888, No. 50.

Whatever the Meister read in his books he put into verse. It would take him a couple of days to get his material into shape, and he did this with the same mechanical precision with which he would have snipped and stitched the leather for his shoemaking. Strophe and antistrophe fitted each other as exactly as one boot corresponded to its fellow.[1] At the same time there were not wanting here and there occasional traces of genuine poetry.

'*Sehr herrliche, schöne und wahrhafte Gedicht, geistlich und weltlich, allerlei Art, als ernstliche Tragedien, liebliche Comedien, seltsame Spil, kurzweilige Gesprech, sehnliche Klagreden, wunderbarliche Fabel, sammt anderen lecherlichen Schwenken und Bossen, und so weiter:*

[1] 'The works of Hans Sachs also go to confirm the opinion that this whole epoch was at bottom an unpoetical one, and that the store of poetic language which it had inherited was used solely for the treatment of subjects belonging to the realm of the understanding. It is, therefore, impossible from an æsthetic point of view to accord a lasting place of honour either to Hans Sachs or to the Meistersingers, or the poets of the burgher class in general.' 'Hans Sachs, however, is entitled to truer and more lasting praise for the sincerity of his intentions. It is the healthiness of tone and feeling which ennobles the man himself, and spurs him on to work for the ennoblement of his contemporaries, that kindles in Hans Sachs the soul of a poet' (Cholevius, i. 289). 'Hans Sachs's indiscriminate use of all and any material was no less diseased and unnatural than was the empty formality of the art of Martin Opitz. He exercised no sort of selection, and reduced German poetry to a mere storehouse full of packing-cases and barrels. As a passive poet Hans Sachs was one of the greatest on earth, as an active poet one of the smallest. His power of invention is slight; in his farces alone is he distinguished by an original and invariably (?) naïve and well-intentioned roguishness. His diction, however, is almost without exception excruciatingly, intolerably harsh and grating.' On the other hand, there is 'something praiseworthy in his burgher industry, his honest sincerity of purpose, and in the abundance of poetry with which he surrounded his existence' (Menzel, *Dichtung*, ii. 12, 14). 'As for seriousness and delicacy of feeling Hans Sachs only possessed sufficient of these qualities to save him from vapid jokes and mere meaningless babble' (Wackernagel, *Drama*, p. 125).

welcher Stücke seind 376. *Darunter* 170 *Stück, die vormals nie in Truck ausgegangen sind, jetzund aber aller Welt zu Nutz und Frummen in Truck verfertiget durch den sinnreichen und weitberühmten Hans Sachsen, ein Liebhaber teutscher Poeterei, vom* 1516. *Jar bis auf diss* 1558. *Jar zusammengetragen und vollendt*' ('Very exquisite, beautiful and true poetry, sacred and secular, of all sorts, such as serious tragedies, lively comedies, original plays, amusing dialogues, pathetic laments, wonderful fables, besides other comic farces and pleasantries, and so forth; of which pieces there are 376. Amongst these 170 pieces, never before printed, but now arranged and published for the use and pious edification of all the world by the clever and far-famed Hans Sachs, a lover of German poetry, from the year 1516 to this year 1558.')

So runs the title of the first great collection of the Meister's works, and this title reveals at one and the same time the many-sidedness, the seriousness, the stiff formality, the native German humour and the 'Meister' self-consciousness of this poet of the guilds.

Hans Sachs the poet was a primitive, vigorous, sound-hearted nature, altogether the outgrowth of the people, full of deep feeling and brave-heartedness.

His first book of poems, as he himself explains in the preface, is intended 'to promote the praise and glory of God,' and also 'to help his fellow-creatures to a life of penitence.' In the 'Spiegel der Gotteslästerer' ('Mirror of the Blasphemers') he lamented most bitterly over the blasphemous spirit, which in the tumult of the age had gained further and further ground;[1] with manly courage he raised his voice against the prevalent

[1] Hans Sachs, i. 190.

vices: contempt of God and His commandments, and fleshly sins of all sorts.[1] He inveighed with special indignation against the criminal desecration of Sunday by work, fencing, hunting, carousing, quarrelling and murder, immorality and adultery.

Should not God send us dreadful plagues
Since we His Sabbath violate,
Dishonour, break, and desecrate
With numbers of unchristian works,
As though we were but heathen Turks?
The magistrates account must give
Of those who so profanely live,
For where they punishment neglect,
They, too, show criminal disrespect
For Sunday, which our God decreed
That we might have the rest we need,
With cattle, maid, man, child, and wife,
And not alone for the body's life;
The soul must have its Sabbath too.
In all things freely submit,
Obey Him and do His will.

To stem the ever-growing tide of 'cursed whoremongery,' he called to remembrance, in 1540, the early Christians who

Placed whoremongers under the ban;
But blinded now in the conscience of man.
And sin has now from day to day
Made further and more desperate way,
Has more and more increased and spread,
Till now it's gained such mighty head
That unashamed and unconcealed,
The streets are almost all quite filled
With faithless wives, &c., &c.

However wooden and clumsy his exhortations to repentance, to prayer, to patience in suffering, to trust in God,[2] may seem, if compared with contemporary religious lyrics of Spain, the songs of a Teresa a Jesu,

[1] Vol. i. pp. 415, 418, 422–424. [2] Cf., *e.g.*, vol i. pp. 363, 425–428.

a Louis de Granada, and others, they at any rate bear witness to a pious, religious disposition, which makes a beneficent impression amid the moral degeneracy of the times. The worthy Meistersinger had nothing in common with the new spirit of society.

His 'Lament of Dame Work over the great idle masses' (*Klagred Frau Arbeit über den grossen müssigen Haufen*), of the year 1535, is drawn entirely from existing conditions. As a reason why 'so few people will attach themselves to her,' Dame Work says:

> For while employers cut down pay,
> Drive hard bargains, fleece and flay
> Their workmen, give them not what they
> Deserve (for the old adage says on earth
> The labourer is his hire worth),
> This makes them rabid, turbulent,
> Each on his own advantage bent:
> The humblest of them follow suit
> And much spoilt handiwork's the fruit.
> Idle, too, they grow, and negligent,
> Gambling, drunken, gluttonous to boot.

Of the middlemen Dame Work complains:

> They complicate all business in the land,
> All profit comes into the third hand
> Before the labourer is paid,
> And poorer every day he's made,
> And must in time to ruin come. . . .

Formerly, so say the concluding lines,

> There was not so much idleness,
> The cause of famine and distress;
> Because all the world wants to make holiday
> Much evil must increase among us,
> And everything will go to ruin.[1]

Any authoritative judgment in matters of faith the Nuremberg shoemaker could not lay claim to, least

[1] Hans Sachs, iii. 480–485.

of all at a time in which everything was out of joint, and, as it were, on the verge of disruption. But no one will dispute that it was from full conviction that Hans Sachs attached himself to the Lutheran creed. Luther was in his eyes 'the Wittenberg nightingale' which announced the daylight, viz. the teaching of the 'evangel,' that Christians are saved by faith alone, and that good works are not necessary to salvation. The whole papacy, in the opinion of Sachs, was man's invention, and the Pope was the Antichrist, who with his innumerable decrees

> Drives the people to the pit of hell,
> To the devil with body and soul as well.[1]

It was at the beginning of the reign of Charles V., according to Sachs, that 'the Word of God had its rise.'[2] Luther had freed theology—that is to say, the Bible[3]—from the Babylonish captivity.[4] In the frightful hurly-burly which arose out of the contradictory explanations of the Bible, he knew no other way out of the difficulty than that the Word of God should be believed 'in simplicity.' It incensed him to think that 'the German nation was nowadays crammed so full of error, mobs and sects.' Each one twisted the Holy Scriptures to his own meaning, his own profit, and his own pleasure:

> No heretic so vile
> But understands the Scripture style.
> Among them also there abound
> Meanings as many as heads are found,
> And every party thinks
> Itself alone is right,
> The others all in error.

[1] Vol. vi. p. 386. [2] Vol. ii. p. 371.

[3] For the fact that 'theology' and the Bible meant the same for him see vol. i. p. 341, verses 9–10.

[4] Vol. i. pp. 401–403.

'They write and they discuss,'

> And each one for salvation reads
> The Scripture by his party's creeds,
> His meaning into it he weaves,
> Wherefore one well perceives
> That things are very perilous,
> Difficult and ruinous,
> For the scholars are dissentient.

And not the scholars (theologians) only, but the laity also 'exonerate, defend, and sanctify their vices by means of the Holy Scriptures,'

> They mock and ridicule
> The Scriptures, in many places,
> With fables and proverbs
> So coarse and immodest,
> As though they were heathens,
> And as if everywhere
> The precious Word of God
> Were only a cloak for shame.

As early as 1524 he admonished his co-religionists as follows. 'There is only a great deal of chatter and very little goodwill among you all; if you do not think it necessary to love your neighbour, you cannot be called disciples of Christ.' 'If you were evangelical, as you boast, you would do the works of the evangel.' 'It is certain that if you Lutherans led moral and irreproachable lives, your doctrine would commend itself more to all the world; those who now call you heretics would speak well of you; those who now despise you would learn of you. But with your flesh-eating, your uproars, your abuse of priests, your quarrelling, mocking, insulting, and all your other improper behaviour, you Lutherans have brought the Gospel into

great contempt. All this, alas! is notorious.'[1] In the year 1540 he made 'the evangel' say:

On their lips I'm all day heard,
But their lives deny the Word.
Little love and truth appear;
From the most of them we hear
Christ hath done enough for us,
Good works are all superfluous.
With minds perverted so
On their way they go.
Hell's destroyed, they say,
The devil long since dead,
Death captive, and away
Justice stern has fled.
They have but accepted me
So far as I will let them be
Pious as best themselves doth suit,
With freedom, honour and wealth to boot.
And whensoe'er they God offend
By me their conduct they defend.[2]

The poet was at the same time profoundly moved by the growing deterioration of learning and the arts, the decline of national vigour and general well-being, and constantly increasing anarchy in the Empire which made it powerless against its foreign enemies. Above all did it grieve him, the fervent advocate of the war of freedom of Christendom against the Turks,[3] that anything like serious, persistent resistance was made impossible by the perpetual discord among the princes, and the degeneracy of the princely and noble class, which he described in the most dismal colours:

Corrupted are both folk and land!
Methinks the wild beasts are at hand,
With which God—so writes Ezekiel—
Threatened the people Israel,

[1] *Ein Gesprech eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen*, &c. (1524; cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 416, No. 12), Bl. 4c.

[2] Hans Sachs, i. 338–344.

[3] See vol. ii. pp. 404–418, 419–433, 434–439.

To punish their iniquities ;
While Isaiah also prophesies
That when a nation in sin lives,
God wicked rulers to them gives
As judgment, hard chastisers,
Extortioners and tyrannisers.

Almost 'throughout the whole German land' the princes and the nobles thought of nothing but extravagant 'pomp and splendour.'

Therefore seest thou how they
Mortgage, sell, transfer all day
Towns, hamlets, castles, farmsteads galore.
Merchandisers they are named,
And of usury they're not ashamed ;
All things grow dear in town and country,
Through tax, toll, import, rate and duty.
They suck the blood, in land and city,
Of widows and orphans without pity.
With their game they cause much ravage
To fields of turnips, wheat and cabbage ;
Plaguing and robbery they commit ;
Their word and promise keep no whit ;
Are not ashamed of lies and artifice,
Amongst each other practise this.
The princes themselves are sanguinary
To each other, and always very
Quarrelsome ; much evil they devise,
And e'en against each other rise.
So that a dreadful war is probable,
For this discord is favourable
To the Turks, who unwithstood will make
Their entry, and our country take.

The demoralisation among the princes and nobles went on increasing :

Their whoredom and adultery,
Their drunkenness and wine-consuming,
Their gambling, cursing and blaspheming,
Grow worse each day than yesterday.
Small care unto the poor give they,
The common good thus falls away,
As from experience you see.
My conscience therefore nags at me

That I should sharply reprimand
For their gross iniquity
The princes and nobles of the land.

There are only 'a few princes and nobles left' who act as guardians and friends of the poor, and carry on good government.[1]

Hans Sachs, however, was not likely to improve this state of things by holding up all the laws and devotional exercises of the Catholic Church to contempt,[2] by accusing the Catholics of idolatry, and by exhorting 'the Christian authorities to root out this idolatry in all places.'[3] Many of his carnival plays and farces and his numerous and obscene burlesques on the clergy and monks, especially those belonging to the last period of his literary activity, were by no means calculated to spread good morals, but rather to increase the animosity which had grown up among Protestants against everything Catholic. In a farce of the year 1559 he traces the origin of the first monk from the devil, who has clothed and shaved a lazy, hypocritical hermit, and instructed him to spend his time in idleness and not to think of working. A village bullock gave him the name. When the geese-herds of a certain village saw this brother, dressed up in a cowl by the devil

In such strange way, they thought at least
It must be some wild savage beast.
Their flocks of geese they all forsook,
Swift to the village their way they took.
As the Brother to the parsonage hied
The village bullock him espied,
And Eymu, Eymu bellowed loud.
Then the peasants all cried out,
That creature's a Mönnich without doubt.

[1] Hans Sachs, iii. 569–571. [2] See, for instance, vol. i. pp. 398–400.
[3] See vol. i. p. 236.

And that's how the first Mönnich came,
By the devil clothed and shorn,
While from the bullock he got his name ;
And from this monk all monks have been born.[1]

In another farce he showed up holy water as an invention of the devil, who had appeared in the form of an angel to the maid-servant of a priest, and ordered her to tell the priest that people who sprinkled themselves with holy water would have their sins forgiven.[2]

In many of the poems of the last decades of his life there are unmistakable marks of the influence of an age in which morality was sinking lower and lower.[3] In a whole series of 'burlesques and farces,' on account of which he was 'considerably decried' by the Catholics,[4] his favourite *dramatis personæ* are the priest and his cook, a priest and the peasant-girl he has seduced ; also a monk with a capon, a monk as a ruffian, a monk with a stolen hen, the village priest trying to seduce peasant girls, the priest who is paying court to his maidservant and walks up tipsy to the altar, and so forth.[5] All these figures are seldom witty, and generally coarse and repulsive.

[1] Hans Sachs, ix. 458–461. [2] See ix. 486–489.

[3] 'At an earlier date, between 1530 and 1540, his farces were allegorical ; now he takes us into the actual world, into the slummiest scenes, the very lowest surroundings. His poetry also follows the course of the folksong, which we see in the same manner falling from heights of beauty to a low level.' In the last decades of Hans Sachs's poetising a marked change goes on. He himself complains frequently of the falling-off of art in general. Formerly it had been flourishing, 'now art has become common and despised ; there are few of its disciples left, and those are looked at askance as visionaries ; the world runs after pleasure and money, the Muses are forsaking the Fatherland' (Gervinus, ii. 424, 425).

[4] See Corner in the preface to his song-book, in Bäumker, *Kirchenlied*, i. 226.

[5] Hans Sachs, ix. 5, 7, 17, 74, 91, 388, 393, 396, 406, 412–415, 420, 478.

For farces of this description, as also for his ' History in Rhyme ' of the Popess Joan,[1] Hans Sachs could be certain of abundant approval, but they darken the pleasant picture which the poetry of his first period presents, and occasionally come very near to the out-and-out coarse pasquils to which it remained for the satirist Fischart to drag down German verse.

[1] Vol. viii. pp. 652–655.

CHAPTER II

SATIRES AND LAMPOONS—PICTURES OF THE TIME AND ITS MORALS—JOHN FISCHART AND HIS DEFENCE OF THE PERSECUTION OF WITCHES

Periods of decay in religion and morals, in social and political life, have always been productive of satire. When childlike trust in the ancestral traditions of faith disappears, and the minds of a people become troubled by doubt, when internal religious strife produces venom and hatred, when the moral basis of national life grows weak and tottering, and social improprieties cause general dissatisfaction, and provoke the ruling powers in Church and State to well-grounded indignation, then mockery and ridicule become welcome weapons, and where there is no high moral force to keep the might of the passions within bounds, the artistic sense alone is unable to control them.

In Germany towards the end of the fifteenth century Sebastian Brant with his 'Narrenschiff' opened the list of satirists, and boldly and mercilessly scourged the shortcomings, follies and vices of all classes; but with him a deep religious earnestness overcame the bitter hatred and scorn which, later on, after the outbreak of the religious and politico-social revolution, became the chief features of satire.

Brant's immediate successor was the Franciscan

monk, Thomas Murner, who far surpassed his predecessor in the popular trend of his genius, in invention, trenchant wit and power of vivid representation, though at the same time he was coarser and more reckless in his cuts and thrusts, in many parts of his writings even proffering homage to that newly canonised saint 'St. Grobian' (from *grob*=coarse), of whom Brant had predicted that in society as in literature he would attain to rulership. 'Herr Glimphius' (*Glimph* = moderation), said Brant, 'is also dead':

> Coarseness is the fashion now,
> And dwells in every home, I vow.[1]

Murner, who was born in Oberehnheim in 1475, and entered the Franciscan Order in Strassburg in 1491, had already travelled extensively in early youth in France, Germany and Poland. He studied theology in Paris, and law at Freiburg in the Breisgau, and in 1506 received the poet's crown from the hands of the Emperor Maximilian I.; at Cracow he became teacher of logic, at Bern lecturer to the Barefoot Friars. The Chapter-General of the Order summoned him to Rome; Henry VIII. sent for him to England to oppose Luther; as delegate of the Bishop of Strassburg he attended the Diet at Nuremberg in 1524. He preached in several towns of Germany, in Treves, Frankfort, Strassburg and elsewhere. Driven out of Alsatia by the Peasant War, he obtained a post as preacher at Lucerne, and in 1526 he took part in the religious disputation at Baden. When the revolution in Switzerland had triumphed by force of arms, he was obliged in 1529 to

[1] Brant's *Narrenschiff*, No. 72. See concerning this work our remarks in vol. i. pp. 286–289.

take flight from Lucerne, and he found friendly welcome with the Elector Palatine Frederick; finally he received a small benefice at Oberehnheim, where he died in 1537.[1]

Murner was widely versed in the learning and culture of his age; he understood Greek and Hebrew, was crowned as humanist poet, gave instruction in theology and philosophy, and was the author of several theological, philosophical and juridical writings; he was accurately acquainted with the literature of the day, and was as expert as a writer as he was beloved as a preacher. His dominant characteristic was his poetic endowment, but this talent was turned in the direction of satire from the first by the conditions and tendencies of the time.[2]

Brant's 'Narrenschiff' had not improved the world, which had grown even more senseless and idiotic since its publication. Murner therefore resolved to be even more outspoken, and in his 'Narrenbeschwörung' and 'Schelmenzunft' of 1512, and his 'Geuchmat' of 1519 (with the exception of a few less significant satires), far exceeds Brant in coarseness and abusiveness. In his 'Geuchmat' he depicts 'for the punishment of all effeminate men' the doings of enamoured fools of both sexes, and the fashionable follies of the day. We may believe him when he declares that in all his writings he has only been influenced by the desire to get rid of sin,

[1] ** The new literature concerning Murner has been well summed up by Bächtold, *Deutsche Litteratur, Anmerkungen*, p. 136. Cf. *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Litteraturgeschichte*, 1896 and 1897.

[2] There is a complete catalogue of Murner's works in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 215–220. ** For Murner's *Badenfahrt* (*Neudruck* durch E. Martin in the *Beiträge zur Landes- u. Volkes-Kunde von Elsass-Lothringen*, Heft ii. Strassburg, 1887), see Kawerau in the *Münch. Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1889, No. 277 Beil.

and to warn the world of the hell torments which they will have to suffer for their sins, &c., &c.

Since, however, the world, he says at the conclusion of his 'Geuchmat,' has come to such a state that it will not allow itself to be punished in good earnest, since prayers and entreaties are of no avail with it, it compels 'the learned to speak abusively of all these things.

> With ridicule we must forsooth
> Reprove, though we prefer in truth
> More seriously to write and teach. . . .
> This, on my honour, is all that
> In writing I am aiming at:
> Always a reprimand to utter,
> Mixed also with more serious matter.
> For the world so frivolous now is
> 'Twill not be preached to otherwise;
> I must punish them to their own taste,
> And not as I myself like best.

I have written as many as fifty books of a serious, religious nature, but the printers were not willing to print them, because there was no demand for such writings. They said:

> Not godly lore, dear sir, the world desires,
> Naught but scandal it admires.
> That's what these gawks do print,
> And leave alone my serious matter;
> Take only from my writings what
> Will make their coffers fatter.' [1]

[1] *Geuchmatt*, conclusion, see also the preface. If they cast it in his teeth that his language ill became a man of the clerical office, they should remember that he spoke in the language of the 'Grobians,'

> Such as in every place they use;
> Not that I else such words should choose,
> But only by way of introduction.

Schelmenzunft, No. 10. And in No. 52:

> Although I have in the German tongue
> Much speech abusive writ and sung,
> You must not angry with me be
> As though such talk was liked by me:
> But he who would the unlearned teach
> Must speak to them in their own speech

Both in his 'Narrenbeschwörung' and in his 'Schelmenzunft,' which to a great extent deal with the same subjects, he held up to clergy and laity, to high and low, after the example of Brant, their serious faults and follies, and lamented the decay of the Empire, which was being brought on, in spite of Maximilian I.'s good intentions, by the insubordination of the princes, the selfish greed of the towns, and the rapacious behaviour of the nobles :

That I have called you fools, each one,
Is in the understanding done
That I count you all as miscreants, who
Much contrary to God's laws do
Out of sheer stupidity.
For they are fools, it's very clear,
Who in their sins still persevere,
And take their fill in such wise here
That they'll feel want eternally.[1]

Sebastian Brant, after he had settled the avaricious fools, the dandy-fools, the vainglorious fools, all safely in his ship, placed himself with exquisite humour at the head of the ship's company. Murner contented himself with declaring the 'learned fools' to be the worst of all.

A learned fool's the biggest curse
God sends, God gives no thing that's worse.
A heavy task indeed I find
What I have set before my mind . . .
For scholars never will allow
That they are fools, and yet I vow
If other fools they're standing by,
A head and ears they are more high.[2]

He treated the Pope and Emperor with reverence, but foreseeing the religious and political revolution which actually came to pass, he admonished them :

That the spiritual and temporal powers of the land
Should deal out punishment with stronger hand ;

[1] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 97. [2] *Ibid.* No. 5.

Methinks indeed there is great need,
If not done soon 'twill be too late
Above all for the spiritual estate.

Although 'St. Peter's ship,' according to the words of Christ, 'will never go down,' there are nevertheless 'many fools'

Who say that it is tottering,
And swear a thousand oaths that it
Is ready to go down.
Therefore let your papal worthiness,
And also your imperial majesty,
Take note how miserably
Order, honour, right,
Land and people all
Are hastening on to their downfall.[1]

Mercilessly he laid bare the abuses both in the private lives and the public ministry of the clergy; their wantonness, greed of possession, mercenary abuse of sacred things; their misuse of ecclesiastical penalties: the ban, for instance, was often applied to quite trifling matters, enforced for a theft of 'three hazel nuts.'

And thus in many a land to-day
The ban is nothing but child's play.[2]

As one of the heaviest clerical abuses he denounced the custom, which had almost become a rule, of filling the higher and the highest posts and dignities of the Church with the younger sons of princely and noble families:

A bishop is for this ordained
That he Christ's souls may tend,
Also instruct them well, and lead
Them with all diligence and heed.
But since the devil has brought the great
Nobles into the Church's state,

[1] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 92. [2] *Ibid.* No. 20.

Since now no one a bishop can
Become except a nobleman,
The devil tore many a shoe
Before he bit this matter through
That the princes' children should be free
To wear the mitre with dignity.
Hot Hunder![1] off we're driving all;
I fear nought worse than the downfall.[2]

The high spiritual lords were told amongst other things:

Spiritual prelates join in the chase,
Blow, howl, kill game, and race
With heedless and destructive feet
Through the poor folks' fields of wheat,
With twenty, thirty, forty steeds.
Those are scarcely priestly deeds
When the bishops go a-hunting,
And the dogs are Matins chanting,
Howling out the hymns and creeds![3]

What Murner wrote about the robbing and squandering of Church property in Bohemia applied also to Germany:

Tell me, pray, where is the right
That the worldly lords should fight
To gain the holy Church's funds,
As in Bohemia is done?
Of all that was endowed of old
The princes now have taken hold,
And merrily each one carouses,
Till to dust are turned God's houses.[4]

He also pointed in plain language to the social revolutionary disturbances which were at hand, at the same time describing the almost unbearable condition of things that prevailed, in many districts, among the overburdened peasantry at the close of the fifteenth

[1] *Hot Hunder:* driver's call to horses down to the right.
[2] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 35.
[3] *Schelmenzunft*, No. 46: 'Des Teufel ist Abt.'
[4] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 35.

century, and side by side with it growing drunkenness and demoralisation in the peasant class :

All things are upside down to-day,
The poor man's goods all taxed away ;
It's all that he can do to live,
E'en for his skin he now must pay.
By his plough he can hardly stay.
Rent in cash and kind sufficeth not,
Taxes he must pay on all he's got.
Rent and rate and taxes (?)
Our masters have invented
Contributions, help in everything,
Tolls on bridges from us they do wring,
Watching, tending, treating, travelling—
These make widows and orphans, alas !
And if death becomes their lot,
I have heard it said,
It is but as straw for the peasant.[1] . . .

One of the worst plagues from which the peasants suffered was the ' saddle-diet,' the highway robbing of the nobles, who taught their children :

From the saddle soups to cook,
And how the peasants bring to book,
Land folk and villages to take ;
A gag to introduce into the mouth,
To hold the stirrup and the bridle,
And bind a peasant to a tree,
Set foot traps for him, burn him out
As one treats the country's foes,
To waste the fields, break down the vines,
Stab a wretched horse to death. . . .
His labour our pleasure becomes
When on him we begin to levy toll. . . .
Then for years we can once more
Live riotously as before.[2]

Robber knights of another kind, who perverted all law and justice and plundered the people, were the Roman jurists.[3]

[1] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 33. [2] *Ibid.* No. 4.
[3] See our remarks, vol. ii. pp. 161–186.

The reverse side of the picture shows those peasant spendthrifts and rioters, who often squander in one day what they have earned during the year, who misplace letters and account-books, and finally, when they have 'devoured their substance with vice and shame,' set up the 'Bundschuh,' that is, the banner of revolt:

> Then they'll strike in with their fists,
> Drive out the nobles from the land
> And murder all the priests.[1] . . .

Then, after the terrible politico-social revolution had broken out, Murner reiterated, what he had so often said in warning accents before, that the many abuses and scandals in the administration of the Church institutions were in great measure to blame for the disastrous condition of the country; but, as before, he still held firmly to the doctrines and constitution of the Church, and opposed decisive resistance to the violent disruption, the complete overthrow of all existing organisation which was preached by the new religious revolutionists. His song of lament over the downfall of the Christian faith, 'Von dem Untergang des christlichen Glaubens,' full of the deepest pathos, is amongst the most impressive productions of the whole epoch:

> The Gospel was of old
> A message of glad mirth,
> Which heaven did unfold
> To fill with peace the earth.
> But now they've poisoned it
> With wrath and bitterness;
> The sacred Holy Writ
> Brings only wretchedness.

[1] *Narrenbeschwörung*, No. 79; see our statement, vol. iv. p. 149.

Of God's most Holy Word
Complaint I would not make ;
But these men do pervert
The truth for slaughter's sake.
The Word of endless life,
Which Christ brought from above,
They've used for war and strife,
Instead of peace and love,

Since Christ His time, indeed,
Upon my oath I say,
There ne'er was such sore need
'Mong Christians as to-day ;
The beauty of our trust
Has fallen with great might ;
Our crown lies in the dust
And is bemocked outright.[1]

Murner was one of the most important, and at the same time most popular, literary defenders of the papacy, and therefore the most hated and calumniated. His poem, published in 1522 as an answer to several libellous pamphlets directed against him, 'Von dem grossen lutherischen Narren, wie ihn Doktor Murner beschworen hat,' is the most incisive satire which was ever penned against the whole mass of revolutionary activity.[2]

With humorous irony and keen observation of events, in fresh, vivid and caustic language he delineated the living and doing of the new seducers of the people, who, with the watchwords 'evangel, liberty, truth' on their lips, had no other thought in their minds than

[1] See in vol. iii. p. 150, the other verses quoted by us from this poem. ** See also the criticism of Vogt-Koch, *Deutsche Litteraturgesch.* p. 290.

[2] See what Vilmar says in the *Gesch. der deutschen National-Litteratur* (7th ed.), vol. i. p. 377. ** Kawerau also (*Th. Murner*, p. 69) says that 'the poem of the *Lutheran Fool* is unquestionably the most effective, bitter and incisive of all the satires which were written at that period in defence of the Church against the Reformation.'

to overturn the Church and State, to take possession of the Church goods, and to set up the Bundschuh :

All their evangelical lore
Is how to turn all topsy-turvy,
Till down come crashing ground and floor,
And all the world lives idly,
For Gospel, rightly illustrated,
Means, cloister, abbey, land, all confiscated.[1]

In order to hoodwink the people they published all sorts of 'libellous books under unknown names and altogether devoid of truth,'[2] they taught the vulgarest language of abuse against the Pope, the bishops, and the priests, all the time constantly appealing to the divine Word, which they explained and falsified according to their own pleasure : each one interpreting it to his own advantage.[3] Above all they represented to the common people that they intended to divide the goods, and that the poor would also have their share. But the same thing would happen in Germany as had happened in Bohemia in the time of the Hussites :

For when the goods they all have taken,
And a mighty heap have maken,

[1] *Vom grossen lutherischen Narren*, No. 7. [2] *Ibid.* No. 29.

[3] Even Murner's opponent, the Zwinglian preacher Utz Eckstein, recognised in his dialogues on the *Reichstag, der Edlen und Bauern Bericht und Klag*, in the year 1527, that

All the unrest that nowadays is seen
By no other cause produced has been,
Than that in these days God the Lord
Has sown His Word through all the world abroad,
And each and all from it now choose
What suits them best to read and use.
And God's Word's only used as cover
For the wish : Were but my satchel full,
Did God but give me what others have.
Thus they turn things solemn to derision,
And even if God's Word is taught to the spirit,
What they seek for with most zest
Is all that for the body is best.

—M. Scheible, *Das Kloster*, viii. 829

The poor will get as fair a lot
As poor men in Bohemia got.
There too the people thought to reap
An equal portion of the heap ;
But lo ! the rich man took the whole,
And left the poor man making dole.[1]

[1] No. 8 ; cf. No. 45. It is only quite lately that justice has been done to the character, life, and influence of the Catholic poet who was the ablest literary opponent of the innovations of religion. After the example of Wachler, Laube and Vilmar, Henry Kurz, in the introduction to his essay on Murner's *Gedicht vom grossen lutherischen Narren* (Zürich, 1848), p. xxviii. ff., endeavoured to restore to a place of honour a name that had come to be almost universally misknown and calumniated. 'In Murner,' Kurz says, 'there dwelt a deep feeling for the right and the true. Murner was a man of the people in the strongest sense of the word ;' 'even if he often used words which offend our ears, he never did so in order to please any special class of readers by such language ; he merely called the things of which he was speaking by the simplest, pithiest names.' Kurz also drew attention to the fact that Lessing was already contemplating a vindication of Murner. 'His desire was not only to justify him in his personal character, but also to stand up for him as poet and writer against unjust accusations.' From the side of the Catholics Kurz remarks, 'Nothing at all has been done to rescue the honour of the most powerful enemy of the Reformation.' Murner's warmest advocate is Karl Goedeke. In his introduction to the *Narrenbeschwörung* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. viii–liii, he says amongst other things : 'Murner, the champion of the existing order against the attacks of innovators, was, according to the current logic of the age, made into an aggressor, and accordingly most disgracefully used, slandered and calumniated ; and, when he attempted to "save his skin," baited and persecuted like a malefactor, so that even now violent partisans "blow the same horn," and even well-meaning historians are in bondage to the influence of traditional opinion.' Even the Strassburg Humanists 'distinguished themselves by immoderately fierce calumnies against Murner,' and 'described him as an inveterate calumniator, whereas he himself was the one slandered and calumniated. This practice was observed against him so long as he worked publicly. No wonder that the echoes of the centuries have more and more deformed his portrait.' 'The accusation, so often brought up afresh, that Murner before the Reformation fought against, and after the Reformation defended, what the reformers opposed, is altogether unfounded. Before, as after, he declared himself against all the abuses, but at no time did he ever assail the papal constitution, or enter a protest against veneration of the Holy Virgin and the Saints, or oppose the Church doctrine that the Mass is a sacrifice for the living and the dead.' 'But if the favourite title of a

One of the principal leaders of the revolution, as Murner described him, was Ulrich von Hutten. 'the

reformer before the Reformation in no way applies to Murner, since he never assailed a single doctrine of the Church, he is at any rate entitled to rank as one of the most keen-sighted, unprejudiced, and bold-minded regular clergy of his day.' That he 'could not give up the opinions of a lifetime, the doctrines to which he had given his faith, and which in this faith he had preached, at the bidding of Luther's contradictory teaching, is made a reproach against him by the disciples of the Reformation, as if firm adhesion to sincere conviction were a crime. Luther was but a single individual, and as such, according to Murner's view, not more entitled than any other individual—Murner himself for instance—to alter the foundations of the Church organisation. After as well as before the Reformation Murner allowed that there were abuses in the administration of ecclesiastical institutions, but he did not wish these to be altered without the concurrence of the legitimate authorities. This was the principal point of separation between him and the reformers. A second point was that he did not think the reasons brought forward by the reformers convincing, and he therefore opposed them on the principles of the existing Church, and he did this on purely abstract grounds, without any personal feeling, and in a form which, though occasionally sharp and caustic, must nevertheless, in comparison with the polemical methods of his adversaries, and even with those of other champions of the Papal Church, be called calm and temperate.' 'Of the two and thirty "booklets" which he wrote against Luther and his followers, including his *Lied vom Untergang des Glaubens*, only six or seven appeared in print. From these it is seen that he by no means overlooked the arguments and proofs which Luther took from the Scriptures; he merely disputed the fact that Luther had rightly interpreted Scripture, and frequently appealed to the interpretation of the Church, which, as the joint representative of all Christendom, he preferred before the opinions of one individual. Luther's method of polemics was a different one. He alludes, for the diversion of his readers, to the lice in Murner's monk's cowl, and contrives that a pasquil against Murner shall be printed and sent to him from the Rhine district, though it was certainly published by none other than Luther.' Goedeke speaks of the 'contemptible lampoons' against Murner, 'which, in spite of their manifest lies, have hitherto served as the chief sources of information to the later historians.' 'Murner answered these libellous writings in his *Beschwörung des grossen lutherischen Narren*, his best poem, and one which abounds in boisterous, joyous, bacchanalian humour, such as is nowhere else to be found in the whole period of the Reformation. The Council of Strassburg, which opposed him with the most avowed partisanship, inhibited this poem and altogether deprived its author of liberty to print, while the so-called reformers of Strassburg—that is to say, the religious revolutionists who were proceeding with the cognisance of the highest official

noble poet,' who since the year 1520 had exhibited in various firebrand writings an indefatigable revolutionary zeal, and had no scruples in openly declaring, in a missive to the Emperor Charles V., that his intentions were directed towards the overthrow of the existing order. The Pope, he said, was a bandit, 'and the gang of this bandit was called the Church.' 'Why do we still delay? Has Germany no honour, has it no fire?' 'Rome is the soul of all uncleanness, the slough of profligacy, the inexhaustible mire of iniquity; and for its destruction ought they not, as for defence against a general disaster, to flock together from all quarters, to hoist all sails, to saddle all horses? Should they not let loose with fire and sword?' He summoned the nobles and the towns and the whole nation to take up arms for a war of religion, and wrote on his banner the motto quoted by Murner, 'Evangel, Liberty and Truth.' The fall of the papacy was the will of God, he said, and it could not be accomplished 'without murder and bloodshed;'

> Now is the time that calls to us:
> 'For freedom fight, God wills it thus.' . . .

Those to whose hearts this call did not appeal did

authorities, had full freedom to slander and to lie.' In 1524, 'the hatred against him, fanned by Bucer, Capito and their associates, had grown to such a pitch that Murner would probably have fallen a victim to the maltreatment of the evangelical hordes during the disgraceful attack on his monastery, which took place on September 15 with the connivance of the town council, had he not happened, accidentally, to be at Oberehenheim at the time.' 'Refuted he never was, only dismissed with calumnies.' ** Kawerau (*Th. Murner*, p. 96) seeks as much as possible to depreciate the 'cowl-wearer,' but he is forced to acknowledge his 'rich endowments and his unequalled tenacity.' In Vogt-Koch, *Deutsche Litteraturgesch.* 286 ff., Murner is treated with aversion and onesidedness, but it is also emphatically stated that he was the 'most important opponent of Luther among the army of writers.'

not love the Fatherland, he said, neither was God rightly known by them :

> Come hither, ye pious Germans all,
> With God's good help, the truth loud call !
> *Landsknechts* and knights come out,
> And all possessed of valour stout !
> Superstition we'll destroy,
> The truth bring back with joy ;
> And if no other way is found,
> We'll shed our blood on battle-ground.

' A hundred thousand men I see, and at their head my boon companion Franz.' To this boon companion, Franz von Sickingen, he communicated in detail, in several letters entitled ' Gespräche,' the plans and aims of the contemplated revolution ; the merchants who despoiled the people must be expelled, the justice-perverting jurists be destroyed root and branch, and above all Germany must be set free from the ' ruthless robber-hordes of the priests.' The Hussite Ziska was the model of a liberator. In a mandate of war of 1423 Ziska, who also appealed to a ' commission sent him from God,' had announced openly : ' We shall pursue all the godless people with punishments ; we shall beat, kill, behead, hang, drown and burn them, and, with every kind of vengeance which according to God's law overtakes the wicked, we shall visit every individual without exception, and without distinction of class or race.' Conventa innumerable were plundered and destroyed, libraries, archives, works of art of all sorts demolished, monks and priests slaughtered. These horrors had remained in the memory of the German people, and Hutten himself quoted the words of ' a warner,' who said he had heard that ' Ziska's deeds were full of infamy and godlessness.'

None the less, however, did he wish to bring about another Hussite war of religion in Germany. It is 'no crime,' he said in answer to this 'warner,' 'to punish the guilty, and to take away from haughty, avaricious, gluttonous, and lazy people that which they have got possession of unlawfully, and to drive them out of the Fatherland where their numbers cause famine prices.' 'Why should not Sickingen follow Ziska's example?'[1]

In a 'Gesprächbüchlein' entitled 'Neu Karsthans,' and belonging to the Hutten-Sickingen series, Ziska is also praised by Sickingen as a worthy model. The clergy deceived the people with their 'ceremonies and juggleries;' God only required worship in spirit and in truth, therefore they were bound, 'as had been done in Bohemia, to pull down most of the churches; for so long as these remained standing there was always the attraction of the priestly spirit, and the false belief could not be destroyed in the common people until these superfluities were removed and all the monastic orders rooted out. Therefore Ziska was no fool because he destroyed the churches; and I cannot sufficiently praise his high understanding for having expelled and exterminated all the monks.' If the priests during their tremendous massacre 'appealed to their freedom, the slaughterers would care nothing,' but would abide by the dictum of St. Paul, who says to the Corinthians, 'Where the Spirit of God is there is freedom.' In thirty articles appended to the dialogues 'by which Squire Helferich, Knight Heinz and (the peasant) Karsthans, with their followers, pledged themselves

[1] See our remarks, vol. iii. pp. 106 ff., 133 ff., 138–139, 145–148; vol. iv. p. 122; concerning the depth of Hutten's hatred and desire for revenge even against merely literary opponents, see vol. iii. pp. 74–76.

to hold hard and fast,' they promised among other things to regard the Pope as the Antichrist, the cardinals as the apostles of the devil, to strangle and kill the Roman courtiers and all their followers, to scourge or trample under foot the priests, to cut off the ears of messengers bringing spiritual commands, and if they came a second time, to put their eyes out.[1]

What sort of procedure might have been expected from Sickingen, had he succeeded in his contemplated overthrow of Church and State, may be judged from the atrocities which he perpetrated against the imperial city of Worms in the years 1515–1517. 'The said Franz,' so runs an edict of the Worms Council of March 4, 1517, 'has now for the space of two years cut down the vines in the fields, burnt and laid waste the orchards, chopped off the hands and ears of the poor peasants who were at work, maltreated and dishonoured women and girls, seized young boys and beaten, wounded, and sometimes killed them.' 'He has robbed, beaten and wounded pilgrims, messengers, and merchants, cut crosses on their foreheads, whipped, wounded and plundered priests and monks.'[2]

On his return from Treves in 1522 Sickingen, following Ziska's example, deliberately burnt down all the churches and convents.[3]

Libellous lampoons of all sorts, some in verse, some in prose, soon came to form the principal branch of literature.[4] In by far the greater number of these

[1] See our statements, vol. iii. pp. 224-227.

[2] *Einblattdruck* of March 4, 1517; *cf.* Niemöller, *Thaten Sickingens* (Frankfurt, 1888), pp. 3–4.

[3] See our remarks, vol. iii. pp. 290, 291.

[4] 'For pasquils, satires and illbellous poetry the period of the Refor-

productions fierce passion and wild screaming are supposed to make up for poverty of thought. Their chief object was to stir up and intensify more and more, by means of scorn, ridicule and calumny, feelings of irreconcilable enmity, deepest contempt, hatred and

mation was the golden epoch,' says Johannes Voigt, *Pasquille* p. 337. Carl Hagen, blamed by a reviewer for 'having often quoted very coarse passages from such writings,' says in self-justification (vol. ii. pp. xiii, xiv): 'It is just these coarse passages which quite admirably represent the character of that period.' 'If our writing of history is to be really objective it must not be governed by accidental fashion and by expediency, but it must penetrate into the spirit of the epoch which is being described, and must leave out no single item which throws light on it.' Now it was precisely 'coarseness in literature which was an essential feature of the Reformation period.' Oskar Schade (vol. i. pp. v, vi) finds 'in the countless pamphlets and leaflets which inundated the land at that epoch,' 'occasionally great coarseness and passionateness.' The word 'occasionally' seems scarcely appropriate, for it would be difficult in these writings to find even a few passages in which violent hatred and unbridled love of slander do not find expression, ** The learned authors of the libellous dialogues, as Matthias points out in 'Ein Pasquill aus der Zeit des schmalkaldigen Krieges' (*Zeitsch. für deutsche Philologie*, xx. 154), chose by preference for their spokesmen people from the lowest classes. A principal reason for this was that far coarser language against the papacy could be put into their mouths than into the mouths of representatives of the cultivated classes. The dialogue contributed by Matthias, which appeared in November 1546, 'breathes from beginning to end fanatical hatred against the papacy.' St. Peter is called by terms of abuse such as 'cabbage-head' and 'senseless Peter head;' the 'villain.' Pope Paul III. is called 'wicked old French dog;' Pope Clement VII. is apostrophised as 'you bad, shaven lump of dirt.' Concerning the pasquils quoted by Voigt, *l.c.*, the Protestant Röpel says: 'Most of them possess neither wit nor poetic merit. They show, however, by what sort of means the Protestants at that time endeavoured to influence the general feeling of the people, and what sympathy and wide circulation these lampoons and satires found in the most remote districts of Germany and among all classes of society, from princes downwards to the lowest grades. In the strongest, not to say the most insolent, tones, unsparingly, without the slightest regard for all that had hitherto been held sacred, or that was dear to the opposite party, without the least recognition of the truth that lay on that side, these writings, from the very coarseness and repulsiveness of their utterances, show how entirely the Protestants had emancipated themselves from the morality of earlier times' ('Referat über Raumer, Hist. Taschenbuch,' in *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 1838, No. 230).

ferocity against the Pope and the clergy and 'the whole papistical rabble.' They kept to the same key which Luther had struck in his innumerable controversial books.

Luther stigmatised the Holy Mass as an outgrowth of hell and as scandalous idolatry, the clergy as thieves, blasphemers, hypocrites, robbers, 'priests of the devil;' in all their 'books and writings there was nothing else than the devil himself;' it was 'much better to be a hangman and a murderer than a priest or a monk;' consecration imprinted on the priests 'the sign of the beast in the Apocalypse.' The Pope was 'the devil's sow;' the bishops his 'idols and larvæ, unbelieving, unchristian, ignorant apes;' the universities were 'temples of Moloch and dens of murderers.'[1]

Language of the same sort, if of feebler quality, was used by authors innumerable, whose pamphlets were mostly published anonymously. Thus, for instance, one of them announced that 'the horned idols are not bishops but carnival masks;' another found in the abbeys and convents 'crowned asses, fatted hogs, coarse bacchanalians, and godless, unintelligent clowns;' a third traced the origin of ecclesiastical law 'to the hellish hound;' 'their spirit is a dog; they show this by their works, for they rend the sheep of Christ, and even devour them.' A priest, wrote in 1522 the former Franciscan monk, Eberlin von Günzburg, one of the most active pamphleteers, is only another name for 'a wicked, godless man, drunken, lazy, avaricious, quarrelsome, adulterous;' the wrath of God was falling on the priests, and it was a wonder that the people did not stone them; it was the sign of a good Christian

[1] See our remarks, vol. iii. p. 231 ff.

to despise the priests to the utmost, or even to slaughter them.[1]

As in the theological literature of the day so also in these popular writings, the devil played an important part; he was represented now as a servant of the papacy, now as its supreme head who issued public official edicts, now he was introduced in conversation with the Pope, on whom he heaped scorn and ridicule.[2]

And not alone in the first decades of the religious revolution, but during a whole century, lampoons, pasquils, satires and scurrilous poems poured like a flood over the land, and that for the most part in those very districts in which every vestige of catholicism had long been rooted out. The Hessian Superintendent, George Nigrinus in 1593, was pleased to discern in all these signs of irreconcilable hatred the work of 'evangelical angels,' and sang *jubilate* from the bottom of his heart over the constantly increasing mania for assault of these 'evangelical angels.' 'I fancy,' he wrote, 'it must have thundered and lightened finely at Rome in our days; I fancy the earth must have been set in movement by this fire and light of the divine Word that was kindled.' 'They will not allow any good in the Pope, for there is nothing good found in him, in this Antichrist and tyrant beyond all tyranny, this liar beyond all heresy, this murderer beyond all murder.' 'Only go at them boldly and stir up the firebrands, that they may grow right burning hot, for this is the will of God; in this way God, the true and the righteous, will be glorified and His Church built

[1] For these and many similar abusive phrases in the fugitive pieces see Hagen, ii. 176–227, and iii. 13 ff., and our statements, vol. iii. p. 214 ff.

[2] See the articles in Schade, ii. 85–104. Voigt, *Pasquille*, pp. 397–398.

up. Cursed be all who do the Lord's work negligently; cursed be all peace in this feud between the woman and the serpent's seed, between Christ and the Antichrist with all his followers. Let all to whom this appeals say from their heart, Amen. Come, dear Lord Jesus. Amen.'

'What is said of the Pope must be understood of all his members, therefore lay bare the Babylonian harlot and uncover her shame. It is not only the clergy in the papacy who are belly-servants, but also all who follow them, both of high and low degree; they are all belly-servants. The belly is their God, says Paul.' 'In spiritual matters they have no understanding, and are less fit to pronounce judgment concerning these things than are unreasoning animals to judge of human things. They are also downright beasts in gross vices: in adultery, whoremongery, sodomy and murder.' Accordingly, Nigrinus, 'the preacher of the gospel of love,' insisted on relentless battle against all the adherents of the Catholic Church.[1]

Among the most violent specimens of libellous writings of the century was one in more than 9,000 'comical rhymes for the benefit of the young,' published in 1555 by the former Franciscan monk, Burchard Waldis, and re-edited in the years 1556, 1560, 1563, 1575. The title runs: 'Das Päpstisch Reich: ist ein Buch lüstig zu lesen allen, so die Wahrheit lieb haben, darin der Papst mit seinen Gliedern, Leben, Glauben, Gottesdienst, Gebreuchen und Ceremonien, so viel müglich, wahrhaftig und auf's kürzeste beschriben ist' ('The Popish

[1] Nigrinus, *Apocalypse*, pp. 238, 354, 527, 546, 615, 635. In vol. x. Book II. there are many such utterances of Protestant preachers and laymen.

Kingdom : a book pleasant to read for all who love the truth ; wherein the Pope with his members, life, faith, divine worship, crimes and ceremonies, as far as possible, is truly and as briefly as possible described ').[1]

It was a translation of a Latin work made by order of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, from the original which the preacher, Thomas Kirchmair, had published in 1553 under the name Naogeorg. Waldis dedicated his work to the much depreciated and ' most virtuous Frau Margaretha von der Sale, Philip's wedded wife,' as whose ' poor servant and chaplain ' he designated himself. All the Catholic doctrines are deformed and perverted in this work ; the holy sacraments and the rites of divine service are held up to scorn as works of the devil :

All popedom liveth in that way
For which serpents we do slay :
Such a sight is every church and temple,
It is a heathenish example
With foul atrocities o'erflowing.
The bread in golden shrine is placed,
And then within the wall incased,
A railing strong with iron door
And double bolts is placed before.
Lest the heathen Turks, perchance,
At such idolatry should glance,
And boldly say the Papists are
Not Christians but idolaters.

With regard to the Lord's Supper it says :

God help, less reasoning, than dumb
Brutes the papacy's become. . . .
The devil who doth them possess
Has given them the fatal Mass. . . .

At Confirmation ' the Spirit of God can be bought for the child with silver and red gold : '

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 453, No. 14.

' The chrism on his brow they smear
And slap the innocent young dear,
So that the people laugh outright—
The child alone doth weep with fright.
Then the infant's head is bound
With a linen cloth around,
As though it had a deadly pain,
And all the people laugh again.

But 'the veritable monkey-play' and devil's work is performed by the Papists at the feast of the Corpus Christi. The worship of the Turks is far preferable to that of the Papists:

For if one should compare the creed
Of Turk and Pope, it's seen indeed
That the Turk a better sense has got
Of God than all the Popish lot.

For the young, the author slanderously said, the Papists kept bad houses:

As the Pope has given freedom
To Florence, in the beautiful city;
Whosoever goes into the common . . .
And does what you well know
Is loaded with praise by the Pope,
Is granted an indulgence thereto.

No less atrocious is it that the Pope 'is worshipped as a Lord of heaven and earth' by the monarchs who are tributary to him, and who all receive their fiefs and crowns from him alone.

When the Pope bids strangle or kill
They fly like hangman's servants at his will,
With fire and water they chastise,
Cross-bow, musket, sword they seize.
Learned or unlearned, churl or lord,
They'll kill them all for the Pope's reward.
Who the victim is none do care,
Father or mother they would not spare.
None can get from death away
When this holy man bids slay.

After this manner the whole 'Popish empire' is described, and moreover, as Waldis boasts in the preface, for the special benefit of 'the present generation and young Christians,' who have never seen the papacy 'with its devil's doctrine and idolatrous worship,' nor have been brought up under it, and who have not had their consciences besmirched and corrupted by such poisonous error. True, he says, the young hear 'daily in all sermons' that the papacy 'ought to be sent back to the devil and hell, whence it first came, as a devilish invention, but this is not enough because 'all the same the common people and the great majority are still in such a state of ignorance that they do not thoroughly understand the prophecies concerning the papacy,' and not having seen and experienced its horrors, they cannot protect themselves against it. 'As the popular saying runs, we cannot either love or hate a thing until we know how good or bad it is.' For this reason was this work written, 'very carefully and truthfully.' [1]

Further information concerning the papacy was imparted in 1559 by an unknown author, in a 'Handbüchlein der Papisten.' It begins with the question: 'How shall an impious popish bishop, pastor, or preacher behave in his vocation? How shall he teach, how shall he live?' To which the answer is: 'He will be ignorant and an evil liver; he will be ashamed of the Gospel, and spend his life in all sorts of profligacy and shame; he will falsify God's Word, allow sin and wickedness, and join in it himself; he will be a shameless debauchee, a wine-bibber, a gambler; . . . he will

[1] The passages referred to occur in the dedication, and in Book I. ch. 4, Book III. chs. 5 and 7, and Book IV. chs. 19, 22, 29, 31, 33.

be in the thick of all vice and corruption.' To another of the many questions: 'How shall the impious behave to their parents?' the answer is: 'The impious shall be disobedient to their parents, shall scold and curse them, shall not provide them with any necessaries, but shall only give them crusts of bread to eat and water to drink, and finally they shall drive them out of the house, or run away from them into a convent and leave them in distress and want.' All this was commanded them by the convent rules; for in the convents they acquired 'other parents; the Father Prior and Mater Domina, yea, Satan himself.' [1]

A pamphlet for the people, published first in 1542 by the preacher Erasmus Alber, with a preface by Luther, and much praised by the Protestants, bore the title: 'Der Barfüsser Mönche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran.' [2] It contained all sorts of mocking remarks on the so-called 'Book of Conformity' of the Franciscans, in which the life of Saint Francis of Assisi is compared with the life of Christ.[3] In the interpretation of this book Alber went so far as to assert that the monks 'make Christ our Lord into a figure and prototype of Francis—that is to say, Christ is the servant and Francis is His lord;' 'they set Francis far, far above Christ.' On the statement that St. Francis during an illness would not let anything be read to him, and had said: 'I will know nothing save Jesus the crucified,' Alber makes the remark: 'By this we see what a great donkey and godless fanatic he was:' he

[1] Schade, ii. 264–274; cf. 380.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 444, No. 16[a]; ** cf. Matthias in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xxi. 432.

[3] *Liber conformitatum vitae S. Francisci cum vita D. N. Jesu Christi.*

would not hear the Holy Scriptures, and thought to comfort himself with his own ideas. The passage : ' The Mother of Christ prayed to God the Father to send Francis into the world for the good of poor sinners,' he accompanies with the marginal note : ' Lucifer's mother is said to have prayed to Beelzebub.' The story that once upon a time a count on his death-bed recommended himself to the prayers of a pious brother puts him in such a frenzy that he exclaims : ' Shall we not hang or drown all monks ? See what murderers of souls they are ! ' A brother Aegidius, it says in this book, was once caught up into the third heaven like Paul ; to which Alber says, ' The state of being caught up is very commonly enjoyed by the holy devils : they ought to be caught up to the gallows and to the hangman.' Whereas in this work there are references ' to some hundred books compiled by the Barefoot Friars,' Alber says : ' These same monks must all be devils, because Francis insists that his brothers are only to have one book, viz. his rules. Therefore all the books of the Barefoot Friars are of the devil except the word of their own god Francis.' [1]

[1] Oldest edition (Wittenberg, 1542), pp. 5, 25, 42, 141, 142, 436. The flocks of birds which sang to St. Francis while he was preaching ' were devils ' (p. 147) ; the Mother of God, who appeared to the Brother Accursius, was ' the devil's mother ' (p. 219), and so forth. A later edition of the pamphlet adds about ninety-five more marginal notes, most of them containing two or three foul words. Wendeler, pp. 104, 191. ** Fr. Schnorr von Carolsfeld (*Erasmus Alberus*, Dresden, 1893, p. 54) speaks of Alber's *Der Barfüsser Eulenspiegel* as ' the work which is still full of importance at the present day.' On the other hand, the Protestant P. Sabatier (*Vie de S. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894, p. cxv.) remarks concerning the *Liber Conform.* of Bartholomew de Pisa : ' Je n'hésite pas à y voir l'ouvrage le plus important qui a été fait sur la vie de Saint François. . . . Je n'ai à m'occuper ici des sottes attaques de quelques auteurs protestants contre ce livre. Nulle part Barth. de Pise ne fait de S. François l'égal de Jésus, et il lui arrive même de prévenir la critique à cet égard.'

The prevalent rage for libellous writing manifested itself also in mocking travesties of Biblical stories or of prayers such as the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Benedicite and the Gratias (grace before and after meat). Protestant writers began early to supply the market abundantly with productions of this sort,[1] and here and there Catholics followed the melancholy example. The Catholic satirist, Daniel von Soest, travestied the Pater Noster in his 'Gemeine Beichte.'[2] The Franciscan, John Nas, introduced at the end of his 'Fünfte Centuria' (1570) an 'Irrequies Luthers,' which was a travestied version of the Requiem and other prayers applied to Luther.[3] The Lucerne actuary Hans Salat in 1532 made parodies applicable to Zwingli on the Pater Noster, the Ave and the Credo.[4]

For violent bitterness, indeed, Salat in many of his poetical performances stood on the same level as the Protestant controversial poets. In 1531, after the battle of Kappel, he composed a 'fine ode' on the war which had been waged by the Confederates in five cantons and in other districts; the poem is called the 'Tanngrotz.'

[1] *Schade*, ii. 105–113, 310 ff. ** Extensive attempts were also made on the Protestant side to transmogrify into apologies of Protestantism works which had come into existence long before the Church schism, of which the religious views, it stands to reason, were based on Catholic principles. This was done the most systematically by the publisher Cammerlander, who availed himself for the purpose of the help of the renegade monk Vielfield. See B. Wenzel, *Cammerlander und Vielfield, ein Beitrag zur Litteraturgeschichte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Rostocke Inaugural-Dissertation. Berlin, 1891. See also Kelchner in the *Allgem. deutsche Bibliographie*, iii. 277, as well as the notices of Falk in the *Litter. Handweiser*, 1892, pp. 547–548.

[2] Jostes, pp. 210–211.

[3] Schöpf, p. 28.

[4] Bächtold, *Hans Salat*, pp. 13–14.

The villain who misled
A pious community and so many honest men,
Has here left his pomp and his life—
I mean Ulrich Zwingli, whom I have known—
He was quartered and burned,
As imperial law decrees,
Of which a little song I write.[1]

In this 'Liedlein von Zwinglin' it says:

On the battlefield they found him
With his wicked ones around him.
They should all be flayed alive:
The villains, I mean to say,
Who led a whole parish astray.

The executioner of Lucerne sang the following 'Requiem' to Zwingli:

Mid joyfulness and laughter
We cut him in four quarters;
Upon his thighs he had much fat,
But the hangman threw it away for all that,
As though he'd been a dog.[2]

In a like bitter strain he wrote in the following year the 'Triumph des helvetischen Herkules,' as Zwingli, he said, 'was called by some of his party.' He transports his readers to the Schwarzwald. In this forest he, the poet, is overtaken by night on the first day of the vintage month, October 1531, the day of Zwingli's death; he takes shelter in a hollow tree, and as the grey dawn appears he suddenly hears a wild tumult and screaming, which seem to shake the earth:

Then from the rocks came a gruesome horde,
From the wall of stone helter-skelter they poured,
On horses and beasts of every sort,
So horribly formed and shaped, I thought
The devil was charging at me!

[1] The *Tannyrotz*, printed by Bächtold, *H. Salat*, pp. 89–109.
[2] Bächtold, p. 117, note. The whole song is given at pp. 114–118.

But on second thoughts I felt sure,
'Twas from my hostel they rode thus here,
Through stick and stone, through bush and briar.
Methought, a wondrous queer prince is that,
It must be the folk from the Brattelenmatt.[1]

The poet then makes the whole army of religious innovators, with the monks, clergy and nuns in the van, pass by like a 'Witches' sabbath procession,' all clad in stolen Mass vestments, choir robes, and other Church garments, and laden with all sorts of Church plunder, and quarrelling fiercely with each other. Thus, for instance, an abbot with his 'Frau Meisterin.'

In grimmest wrath to her he swore:
Thou cursed, vile, adulterous whore,
Unto this punishment thou hast me led,
That I my priestly state have forfeited.
The oath I swore to God did break,
Vile woman, for thy wretched sake,
Therefore, for ever, must I burn in hell!
And then he shook and scratched and whacked her well.
As he did, so did all the gang,
Their shrieks through hill and valley rang. . . .
Strange yells they raised and jabber shocking,
Villains and whores each other mocking. . . .
But all rushed with avenging swoop
On one who now came in the troop,
With pomp he marches on, and he's
By all of them called Hercules.

'The German Hercules,' Zwingli, celebrates a triumphal march, like the temple robbers Nebuchadnezzar and Balthasar, but

Then came a terrible thunder-blast,
And Hercules down from his chariot was cast.

The chariot was followed by

A miserable bloody horde,
Wounded, shot, or hacked with sword;

[1] 'Brattelenmatt,' the rendezvous of the witches. Bächtold, p. 123 note.

And then another poorer crowd
To whom seemed scanty food and drink allowed,
While men and women, rich and poor alike,
Raised a piteous, lamentable shriek.
Burghers, peasants, workmen, all the lot,
Would fain have fallen on the booty, I wot. . . .
Then came another gruesome throng
Riding furiously along,
Riding the poor folk down to the earth
With snorting steeds and grimmest wrath.

Finally the whole procession

Rushed upon the rocks pell-mell
With screaming, anguish, wailing, yell,
Cries and lamentations weird,
Distorted form and visage scared,
Stabs, blows and lashes, pomp, throng and rending,
As though the heavens and earth were ending.
Behind them then fell in the rock,
Shattered in pieces with the shock.[1]

The convert, John Engerd, since 1576 professor of poetry at the university of Ingolstadt, made the following alphabetical rhymes on the different letters of the name Luther.[2]

Was zeigt der erste Buchstab an ?
L. Lotter, Lügner, Lumpenmann,
Leichtfertig, Lauter Lehren Los,
Das sei der erste Titul gross.

Sag was das U [V] bedeuten soll ?
Verbanter, Unflat, Uebels Vol,
Verwüster Unsers Vaterlands,
So ist der andre Buchstab ganz.

Was denn der dritt ? brings auch herfür :
T. Treulos, Trotzig, Teuflisch Tier,
Tyrannisch, Tückisch, Tugendleer,
Und was sonst sein der Laster mehr.

[1] The 'Triumphus Herculis Helvetici' (1532), printed for the first time by Bächtold, *H. Salat*, pp. 121–136.

[2] It is obviously impossible to give an exact reproduction of this alphabetical contrivance, as the equivalent English terms do not invariably begin with the same letter. We therefore give the original German as well as the translation.—(Translator.)

Sag, was der viert bedeuten muss ?
H. Halsstarrig, Häreticus,
Hoffärtig, Hadrisch, Hurisch, Hart,
Das ist der Ketzer vierte Art.

Was steckt nun in dem fünften drin ?
E. Eitel, Ehrgeiz, Eigensinn,
Eidbrüchig, Ehrlos, Ehrverletzer,
Das ist die fünfte Art der Ketzer.

Was ist der Ketzer letzte Kron ?
R. Radbrecht, Rein Religion,
Ruhmsüchtig, Räubr, Rachgierig, Rauch,
Das ist der Ketzer sechst Gebrauch.[1]

1. What does the first letter show ?
L. Licentious, liar, *Lumpenmann* [vendor of rags],
Lightminded, leaving all pure doctrine:
Thus does the first title go.

2. Say what shall U [V] stand for ?
Unclean, outcast, vicious, vile,
Upsetter of our Vaterland,
Untrue to his heart's core.

3. What then the third ? how write it down ?
T. Truthless, defiant, devilish beast,
Tyrannical, trickery, turbulent,
And every other vice that's known.

4. Say what shall letter 4 betoken ?
H. Heretical, headstrong,
Haughty, hating, whorish, hard—
This is the fourth thing of him spoken.

5. And what of letter 5 shall be said ?
E. Empty, egoist, avaricious,
Erring, egregious, evil.
That's how letter 5 is read.

6. What is the heretic's last crown ?
R. Rabid, 'right religionist,'
Robber, revengeful, renown-seeker,
Rauch, reek-smoke [in hell] is the crown.

As a counter-attack on the endless vituperations against the Pope as the Antichrist and the author of all corruption, John Nas declared in 1588 that, 'the anarchy which had invaded Germany was the

[1] Holstein, *Die Reformation*, p. 193.

consequence of the secession from the true Catholic faith, and a manifest sign that the Antichrist, 'the chief of all heretics,' would shortly appear. He would 'overturn all government,' 'root out all piety,' 'lay waste all altars and church ornaments.'

As now his predecessors and
His heralds do in our land—
The sects' seducing, murdering agents,
Who act with might at their own liking,
Whereby the Empire is laid waste. . . .
The world is full of prophets false,
Each his own nonsense God's Word calls.
Sects and parties much abound,
While the true faith nowhere is found.
War-cries and evil news we hear
Repeated daily far and near. . . .
On earth there's everywhere sore need,
The poor are overtaxed indeed,
Taxed they are with grief and need.
No one at court for them doth care,
Hunger and wailing are everywhere. . . .
Unprincely dealing, wrong finance,
Fraud, cunning, cheating words that glance,
Profits unfair, forestalling, usury,
Scandals, vices, untrue currency, . . .
Looseness, boldness, insolence,
Perjury, malevolence,
Are found in every region where
Lutherdom sounds in the air.
Discipline and fear of God grow cold
Wherever men the doctrine hold
Of faith alone; and so the world to-day
Is hard bestead with eating gross,
And drinking, to the certain loss
Of love and good and souls most precious,
Not to speak of other things atrocious. . . .

But greater evils still would soon follow:

Everywhere there'll be storming and battling,
All the world in armour rattling,
Seizing sword, musket, spear, and even
Strangling each other and shedding blood.[1]

[1] *Praeludium in Centurias hominum, sola fide perditorum, das ist*

In colours as dark as those of Nas, the Protestant preacher Bartholomew Ringwalt related in a large poem of the times and manners, 'The Pure Truth' about the general corruption that had set in. The book went through fourteen editions between 1585 and 1610.[1] 'These are the last and the worst times,' the author said in the preface, 'which have come upon the world, times in which all faith has decayed, love has grown cold, and all manner of insolence, scandal, vice and contempt of the divine Word have increased to such a degree, that now in no classes of society is any improvement to be hoped for.'[2]

> As even all the Christian band
> Come daily more to understand,
> That many a one in village and town
> Aweary of his life has grown;
> He goes about, 'tis truly said,
> As though he had been struck on his head,
> Little for his goods doth care,
> And wishes that in his grave he were.[3]

Ringwalt's great aim in this work, as also in a second, 'Der getreue Eckart' (1588), was to admonish the world faithfully and honestly to repent and improve their lives, but he feared:

> I fear I shall not with my rhyme
> Snatch the world from the devil's lime,
> To which they're willing to stay clinging,
> Thus their own perdition bringing.[4]

The universal complaint that in the earlier Catholic times the people had been much more benevolent and

Newer Zeitung Vorgang, &c. (Ingolstadt, 1588), 35 ff. Cf. Schöpf, pp. 66 and 76, No. 31.

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 515, No. 12.

[2] *Die lauter Wahrheit*, edition of 1588, Bl. A^3.

[3] Edition of 1597, p. 4. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *B. Ringwalt*, p. 5.

[4] Edition of 1588, p. 271; cf. pp. 295–296.

generous in endowing churches and schools was considered perfectly well-grounded by Ringwalt:

I tell you verily, dear sirs,
But for the ancient stores
Of tithes and tributes manifold,
Of hides and corn, which were of old
Founded by our ancestors
For the servants of God's Word,
Indeed the holy preaching-stool
With Church's and with children's school,
Left without help in our day,
Would starve and fall into decay;
For in these times no single penny
Is put into God's chest by any.

Our forefathers under the papacy had maintained numbers of monks and priests:

And from free love they did all this,
And what they gave they did not miss.
But nowadays we scarcely even
Can pay in a city six or seven
Persons, who for Christ His sake,
Of church and schools good care will take.
So loth are all the folk who live
In these our evil days to give
For God's service, in due measure,
Something of their rightful treasure;
Which hard-heartedness does not
Tend to fatten them one jot,
But brings curses on their head,
As Moses in his book hath said.

All former delight in almsgiving had disappeared:

Great buildings men, in former days,
Loved for God's ministry to raise.
Churches, monasteries, and
The like, which still as tokens stand.
But now the roofs are left to fall
To pieces, and to let in all
The rain and snow, the dirt and dust,
Which lie and putrefy and rust.
Hence none with reverence now treat
The clergy whom they chance to meet,
And no one troubles in the least
How to support church, school or priest.

On the contrary, they laid plundering hands on the old endowments:

What in days of old our good
Forebears, with hardest sweat and blood,
For God's ministry did save,
And in frequent presents gave,
Now the lordships, great and small,
By degrees appropriate all,
Among their members share the prey,
And not an atom back they pay. . . .
Woe be to you in soul and flesh
Who take their bounties in your mesh,
While in return, amongst you all,
Not one erects a hospital,
Or builds a schoolhouse, great or little,
Where the young children of poor people
May be taught from early youth
On the sure basis of God's truth.
But this is the long and short of it all,
Into your clutches the whole doth fall,
While in the Lord Christ Jesus' coat
You bound and caper like a goat.

Predicting heavy chastisements, Ringwalt exclaims:

Behold, such gains, I tell you true,
Will be a curse to yours and you;
Either you'll find that all your race
On earth will flourish in no place,
Or else with all your sins unshriven
You'll suddenly from earth be driven.
'Tis said that if an eagle's feather
Is laid with other plumes together,
It will eat up the whole bunch,
Much faster than the moths could munch.
And so we verily may say,
The church-goods also have a way
Of ruining the house and hoards
Acquired by unrighteous lords.

His brother officials, the preachers, he admonished as follows:

You must not out of vengeance rough,
Each fable new, and your own stuff
Lightly to the pulpit bring
And at the congregation fling;

For he who doth his people shock
Loses all favour with his flock,
And brings upon himself their hate,
Because he does nought else but rate.
Therefore this injunction keep
Well in mind, and by your sheep
Let no barefaced, forbidden word
(As rogue or thief) be ever heard.

When a preacher had suffered some wrong he must not vent his indignation in the pulpit:

With much scolding, snorting, rating,
Damning, cursing, fulminating;
For well such stinging words may make
The heart of many a hearer break.

Ringwalt addressed another admonition to the preachers:

Now verily in every place
It is a terrible disgrace
That you, soul-shepherds of this age,
So fiercely 'gainst each other rage,
And more for paltry honours fight
Than for what faith or doctrine's right.
Fatal pride and envy fierce
Make it that, nowadays, you scarce
In any churches ever find
Pastor and chaplain of one mind,
But often by contention hard
In trivial things their peace is marred, . . .
And from the pulpit openly
They rate each other angrily.

So that 'often an uproar arises among the people;' between pastor and chaplain

In such quarrels often it's
The wives who are the first culprits,
Who for pride's sake fall out and wrangle,
And their spouses in the brawl entangle.[1]

Very touching is the 'humble petition' which the

[1] *Die lauter Wahrheit*, pp. 275–276, 345, 354–355.

poet addresses 'to all the high authorities and all other Christian feudal lords' to take the preachers under their care, so that they 'might not be driven by sharp hunger to remove to other places;' above all they begged these lords after the death of a preacher to look after his widow:

> That she should not in a short moon's space,
> As in some districts is the case,
> Like a servant girl receive
> Notice the parsonage to leave.
> But that they would their utmost do
> To keep her in the ministry
> As wife or as assistant to
> The person of some learning who
> Her husband doth replace:
> And if for marriage she be not fit
> That they would give her a year's grace,
> As so generously with us
> The Brandenburg Elector does,
> A pious father in the land
> Margrave Johann George he's named;
> So that she somewhat better fare,
> And not at once sink in despair
> With all her children, who too often
> Are not half educated even.[1]

Very vividly Ringwalt depicts the 'carousing of the Germans' and the love of fine clothes which goes on growing in spite of 'all the hard times:'

> Dear God, what will on earth betide
> To us through this great, growing pride,
> Indulged in nowadays, alas!
> With no distinguishing of class?[2]

'For the admonition of impenitent sinners' he introduced in his 'Treuer Eckart,' a description of hell, made all the various kinds of sinners, male and female,

[1] *Die lauter Wahrheit*, pp. 328–331.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 58 ff.

hold conversations, and placed the 'hideous figure' of the devil before his readers' eyes:

> Like mad dogs they ran about
> With their mouths wide opened out,
> From which there hung, with stench most strong,
> A black tongue fully ten yards long.
> Prickly snouts they had, and eyes
> Like a huge cheese-bowl in size,
> And when they moved these eyes about
> Myriad sparks from them flew out.[1] . . .

Ringwalt praised up the earlier Catholic times in comparison with his own, but in the songs which he added to the 'Lauter Wahrheit' he could not all the same resist having a fling at 'the Roman Antichrist' and 'the devil's knavish skin,' in order to instil into his co-religionists a wholesome horror of the papacy,[2] under which the 'lewd rabble' are free to commit 'adultery, sodomy, and all sorts of wickedness.'

> And when some great enormity
> They've in the flesh committed,
> In the name of holy Mary
> They say a mass, and all's remitted;
> Yea, all's forgiven in her name.
> Then straightway they again begin,
> As before, to live in sin
> And every kind of shame.[3]

If Burchard Waldis said that it was the devil 'who gave the Mass' to those possessed by him,[4] another

[1] *Christliche Warnung des trewen Eckarts* (Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1588). Bl. H. 6[b]; cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 514, No. 7. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *B. Ringwalt*, pp. 22–28.

[2] See also above, pp. 292, 293.

[3] *Die lauter Wahrheit*, pp. 443–446. The 'strict honesty of sentiment which nevertheless does not exclude all tolerance,' praised by Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 512, in Ringwalt's poems, does not let itself be seen in these satires.

[4] See above, p. 353.

verse-maker, alluding to a picture in which the holy Mass was represented as a 'terrific and frightful monster,' put the question :

> Now, good friend, I prythee tell
> Why there are so many devils in hell,
> And only one Lord God : why this is, say,
> Without mocking me, I pray ?

The answer is :

> Ah, have patience, brother dear !
> The monks and priests are guilty here,
> For had they swallowed in their Masses wheaten
> Devils as many as gods they've eaten,
> They would have destroyed so many
> There'd scarcely be left over any.[1]

Verses of this sort breathe the spirit of John Fischart.

Four and twenty years after the death of Luther, when the most strongly contradictory opinions had developed in the Protestant camp and were combating each other fiercely, John Fischart, then a youth of twenty, made his *début*, and became one of the most active and versatile writers of the century. Born, probably, at Strassburg in the year 1550,[2] he came in boyhood to Worms to Caspar Scheid, his 'dear father and preceptor,' and the 'best of rhymesters,' who had made himself a name by the translation of Dedekind's 'Grobianus.' The coarse humour of the schoolmaster, his love for French books, for brilliant poetry, for music and authorship, communicated themselves to his

[1] In the *Thesaurus picturarum* in the court library at Darmstadt, vol. Calumniæ, &c., fol. 108.

[2] ** S. Hauffen, *Zur Familien- und Lebensgeschichte Fischarts* in the *Euphorion*, 1896, iii. 363 ff., which places Fischart's birth somewhere between 1545 and 1551.

pupil. Fischart's years of study were followed by a restless 'Wanderleben' in Italy, Flanders, England and France. In 1574 he became doctor of law at the University of Basle; from 1576 he lived for some time at Strassburg as an active assistant to his brother-in-law, the bookseller Bernard Jobin, became then assistant clerk to the Imperial Chamber at Spires, later on an official at Forbach, and died in 1589 when scarcely forty years of age. But his influence lived on into the following century through a whole flood of writings greater and smaller. Fischart, as is shown by his justly famed writings 'Das glückhaft Schiff' and the 'Ehezuchtbüchlein,' was gifted with extraordinary power of language, but he did not possess a creative imagination. Most of his materials are borrowed, and in no single case was he able to work them up into an artistic masterpiece.[1] He made foreign works his own property, and once unscrupulously appropriated an anonymous pamphlet by John Nas, whom he despised and nicknamed 'the grey beggar-

[1] Zincref is of opinion, says Goedeke, *Dichtungen Fischarts*, vi., that 'Fischart had not been industrious, whereas all that he published was the fruit of his industry.' Fischart 'never really showed a creative spirit; an imaginative genius he decidedly was not.' 'Fischart's most important matter is in the main all borrowed.' E. Schmidt, *Fischart*, pp. 36, 40. ** Fischart's works betray the literate who is intent on a rapid harvest with his pen. He does not spend much trouble in searching out original inventions. He introduces foreign productions, with all sorts of additions of his own, among the people, modernises all German works, translates from the French and the Dutch, fashions new books out of a variety of elements borrowed here and there, and seldom brings out anything quite original. Notwithstanding all this, however, Fischart is still an original character who, like the court epic writers of the middle-high-German golden epoch, worked up foreign matter into his special manner, which also had a share in determining the choice of the materials. Vogt-Koch, *Deutsche Litteraturgesch.* p. 316. Concerning Fischart as the representative of French influence on German literature see Steinhausen, *Die Anfange*, p. 374 ff.

monk at Ingolstadt,' not knowing that it was he who was the author of the stolen publication.[1]

Without having completed his law studies, without having pursued the usual preparatory theological studies, Fischart threw himself at once with all the presumption of a happy-go-lucky student into religious polemics, and that with a violence of passion which recalled the most vehement invectives against 'the papacy founded by the devil.' His first satirical poems of the years 1570 and 1571 were directed against the converts James Rabe and John Nas in particular, but also in general against the Jesuits, the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the whole monastic life of the Catholic Church. In these satires, and in a yet higher degree in the later 'Jesuiterhütlein,' we note that skilful playing with words, rhymes and fancies of which none but gifted writers are capable. But everything turns on odious ridiculing.[2] Nowhere is there a sign of true understanding of the Church and its institutions, nowhere any trace of high religious aspiration. Fischart simply strove to drag down in the mire, and overwhelm with libellous language, the two converts who, and the three societies which, threatened the future of Protestantism.

His was not the manly wrath which uses sarcasm only as an instrument, but mean hatred, which makes scorn, defamation and slander its chief object, and revels in it with delight. What he once said himself about wild hunt-music which set the people in a fury might be applied to his own poems :

[1] See Goedeke, *Pamphilus Gengenbach*, pp. 415 and 526, and *Dichtungen Fischarts*, xiv. Schöpf, pp. 34–35.

[2] See our remarks, vol. x. pp. 56, 57, 70–73, 291–297.

Is this not simply sheer pain and grief ?
Where is the enjoyment, where the relief
That should in music be found ?
How can the ears be charmed with such sound ?
They shriek, they shout, they yell, they curse,
They puff, they blow—what can be worse ; . . .
How can such wild and raging clamour
Any proper taste enamour ? . . .
A quiet heart soon with wisdom mates,
A wild one, wisdom spurns and hates, . . .
For from hating springs the hateful,
In men and beasts it looks disgraceful.[1]

The calumnies and abuse which he dared to hurl at the whole Catholic religion in his 'Bienenkorb des heiligen Römischen Immenschwarms' of 1579 remained unequalled in after times.[2] He put before the people the following statements as doctrines of the Catholic Church : the Pope is a visible god, he can alter creatures and control angels ; he is greater than St. Paul, and St. Peter makes him sinless.[3] Like a charlatan and a quack tooth-extractor, the Pope, he said, 'offered his patent electuary and treacle-water for sale : '

As holy water, bread and wine,
Oil, salt, grease, wax, and dead men's bones.[4]

All this, however, did not prevent Fischart, for the sake of daily bread, from associating himself with a publisher's undertaking in honour of the Pope.[5]

He speaks of himself as full of compassion 'for the credulous people living on the latest news and gossip, and being deliberately led astray,' and reminds his

[1] From 'Ein artliches Lob der Lauten' in Kurz, *Dichtungen Fischarts*, iii. 11 ff.

[2] See our statements, vol. x. p. 16 ff.

[3] In the '*Erklärung des uralten gemeinen Sprüchwortes* : Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten,' in Kurz, ii. 343 ff.

[4] In the *Gorgoneum Caput*, in Kurz, iii. 115.

[5] See our statements, vol. x. p. 24, note 1.

readers of the saying: 'the printer wants money, and so he has concocted some fresh sensational news.' He also makes game of the people 'who are so terribly anxious for news that they rate the poor devils who do not supply them with sheets and trunks full of gossip, and call them donkeys and simpletons who do not know where it has rained.'[1] And yet in fighting the papacy and abusing the Jews he himself worked largely on the people's thirst for wonders.

In 1577 he informed the people that 'the head of the Gorgon Medusa, a Roman sea-wonder, had been discovered in the new islands:'

> In the sea they've chanced to find
> Sea wonders of a Roman kind:
> Sea bishops, sea monks, and sea priests,
> Mass grottoes, pilgrim apes, all which
> Bear a strong resemblance to
> The Romish ecclesiastical crew.
> For Scripture calls the sea a world
> From which huge monsters are up-hurled.
> But no greater ones are bred
> Than the so-called Church's heads,
> Who in the sea of the world do roar
> And bring forth sea-devils galore. . . .

But the present 'find' is 'a veritable arch-sea-wonder.'

Such a sea-lamb, an animal on a stool, a Babylonish whore is the hellish monster at Rome, with its scales and its grovelling company.

> This is the Medusa, the famed sea-whore
> Whom the sea-god Phorcys bore,
> From Ceto of the whale-fish race. . . .
> This is Circe, the sea-queen,
> The venomous spider and enchantress,
> Who, by a magic drink, the guests
> Who visit her can change to beasts.

[1] In the preface to his pamphlet *Aller Practik Grossmutter*, in Scheible, *Das Kloster*, viii. 546, 552.

This 'hussy' plagues with ban, burning, poison and murder, but knows how to parade before the world in all sorts of dazzling church pageantry, mummy shows and ornaments, fasts, confessions, Masses,

All these outward functions were
The Babylonish whore's attire,
Which her lovers did ensnare,
And half the world around her gather.
But as to-day the varnishing
Grows shabby and the colours fade,
We see that all this garnishing
Was finery the sorry jade
Had borrowed from the Jew and pagan,
And from the storehouse of the dragon.

But after the manner of shameless harlots she wanted now:

To compel the folk to follow her. . . .
She uses banning, murdering,
Roasting, seething, and forbids
Scripture reading; the people binds
By oath and vow to praise
All her wantonness; breaks contracts and
Dissolves all vows at will;
Stirs rulers up to war
Against their subjects, and commands
To shed the blood of all alike.[1]

The Swiss Bodmer was not so very wrong when he wrote:

A head of Rabelais' pattern followed after Brant's,[2]
The name was John Fischart, the darling of Bacchants![3]

Against the Jews, in 1575, Fischart directed 'Eine gewisse Wunderzeitung' ('A certain marvellous story') of a Jewess at Binzwangen, four miles from Augsburg, who on December 12 of the preceding year had given birth to two living pigs, or . . .

[1] Kurz, iii. 117–121.
[2] Sebastian Brant.
[3] See Goedeke, *Dichtungen Fischarts*, p. viii. note 2.

So wondrous is the tale related,
That were it not authenticated,
To write it I should almost fear,
For men might think it a mere joke
I made against the Hebrew folk.
But God has made it all so clear
That the whole world is forced to hear
And learn how Christ, Messiah true,
Intends to bring the purblind Jew
To ridicule and scorn before
He comes Himself to earth once more,
And show them, in the whole world's eyes,
That as His honour they won't prize,
To Him they are of no more worth
Than pigs that grovel on the earth.

Because the Jews expected an earthly kingdom, and spent their lives only in pleasure and usury,

. . . dishonour Christ, the high anointed,
So let them smear themselves with sow-grease.[1]

Fischart's epoch, by reason of the religious revolution, resembled 'a devastated paradise full of wild beasts.' Hatred and schism flared up everywhere, and the poet himself gave the reasons for this state of things:

All dissensions, error, strife,
Of which to-day complaints are rife,
From the self-same causes spring:
Either zeal unreasoning,
Or pride, or worldly coveting,
Or that each other, without shame,
We criminally judge and blame;
Each one the upper hand would win,
And to his creed the world bring in;
Each strives how he by violent course
His doctrine on all men may force.

The Holy Scriptures were no more than a 'conjuror's bag,'

[1] Kurz, iii. 70–72; cf. vol. iii. p. xviii.

Wherewith a monkey-game they play,
Each dealing with it his own way ;
This way and that they bend and twist
The Word, as they themselves do list ;
They make the matter seem all right,
God's Word and will call everything
That ministers to their delight,
So that the people cannot know
What to think, which way to go.[1]

In his 'Affenteuerlich naupen-geheuerliche Geschichtklitterung,' his most important work, first published in 1575, Fischart aimed at 'placing a chaotic, deformed picture before a chaotic, deformed world' in order 'to lead them and frighten them away from their chaotic deformity and deformed chaos.'[2] His method of presentation was by no means suited to this object, but the picture he presents is a true representation of the whole dissolute, demoralised life of the period, and is full of keen observation ; the drinking and carousing, the immorality, the senseless fashions, the perverted education of children, the oppression of the poor and other grievous evils, are brought before the eyes in living colours, such as no other contemporary moralist had at his command. Thoroughly German is the eighth chapter of this work, entitled : 'Das Trunken Gespräch, oder die gesprächig Trunkenzech, ja die Trunken Litanei und der Säufer und guten Schlucker Pfingsttag, mit ihren unfeurigen doch dürstigen Weingengen, Zungenlös, schönem Gefräss und Getös' ('Drink talk, or the talkative drinking company, yea the Drink Litany and the Pentecost of imbibers and deep swallowers, with their fireless yet

[1] *Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten*, in Kurz, ii. 378, 381.
[2] Fischart, *Geschichtklitterung*, iv.

thirsty wine passages, the unloosing of their tongues, their fulsome feeding and great noise ').[1]

'I am no sinner without thirst; I drink eternally; drinking is my eternity, and eternity is my drinking. If I eat myself poor, and drink myself to death, I certainly have power over death.' 'I am not yet Schwenkfeldian, but swinefeldian, or Reissfeldian—Ha! ha!—and cold-winish (Calvinistic) when my wine is cold, and Lutheran when my wine is maddy.' 'Forgive me that I compare you to sows; at any rate they give good bacon; how can you thrive if you cannot bravely chew, and throw up and chew again like sows?'[2]

This work is 'based on François Rabelais in a French form, but,' says Fischart, 'cast in an extravagantly burlesque German mould, and superficially—as one louses a scabby scalp—set up, or down, in our native babble, and reset on the anvil in new print, embossed, forged and shaped in Pantagruel fashion in such a way that nothing without an iron Nisi is wanting therein, by Huldrich Elloposcleron' (Ulrich Fischart).[3]

[1] Fischart, *Geschichtklitterung*, iv. pp. 155–194.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 158, 165, and above, p. 72.

[3] It is a free dishing up of the first book of Rabelais' *Vie, faicts et dicts heroiques de Gargantua et de son filz Pantagruel.* 'All the French in it Fischart replaces by German matter. The whole book is crowded with open and covert, comic and serious satire on German conditions and customs. It is an inexhaustible repertory of the morals, manners and habits of life of the sixteenth century' (E. Schmidt, *Fischart*, p. 41). The trick often resorted to by authors and publishers of that period of exciting the curiosity and attracting the custom of the public by extravagant and startling titles (cf. Kirchhoff, *Beiträge*, ii. 105–106, and also 117, No. 8) was understood by no one better than by Fischart. His pamphlet *Aller Practik Grossmutter* was announced by him under the title *Die dickgeprockte Pantagruelinische Btrugdicke Procdic, oder Pruchnastikaz, Lastafel, Bauernregel oder Wetterbüchlin, auf alle Jahr und Land gerechnet und gericht, durch den volbeschreiten Mäusstörer Winhold Alcofribas Wustblutus*

This work not only affords a deep insight into the corrupt conditions of the period, but in the strange and monstrous corruption of its language it is itself an embodiment of those conditions. Fischart was master of the German vocabulary and language to an extent which, except in the case of Luther, was unequalled by any writer of the century ; but he does not here remind one of Luther, with his originality and vigorous force, but of Rabelais the Frenchman, with his unbounded, weedy-wild and often distorted luxuriance. Almost every sentence is hampered and lamed by this mass of playful creepers ; no form of speech retains its function of quickly and clearly representing thought.[1]

The work is full of dirt and obscenity. Even where

von Aristophans Nebelstatt, des Herrn Pantagruel zu Landagreuel Obersten Löffelreformirer &c. (Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 492, No. 7.) Another of his dodges for attracting notice was to write under all sorts of absurd and wonderful names. He called himself for instance in turn : ' J. Noha Trauschiff von Trübuchen, Jesuwalt Pickhart, Artwisus von Fischmentzweiler, Alonicus Meliphron Teutofrancus, H. Engelprecht Mörewinder von Fredewart aus Seeland, Georg Goldrich Salzwasser von Badborn, and so forth ; cf. Kurz, I. xx.–xxii. ; Wendeler, pp. 289–293. In his *Podagrammisches Trostbüchlein* (1577 : ** Reprint with Introduction by A. Haussen, *Fischarts Werke*, vol. iii. [*Deutsche Nationallitteratur*, published by Kürschner :] Stuttgart, 1893) he treats Podagra as a ' limb-cramping foot-tickler,' with a following of musk-smelling women, Methe Drunkenness and Acratia Gluttony, Polyphagia Gobblinghouse, &c., &c. : all names and titles composed with true Rabelaisian instinct.

[1] ' Fischart is repulsive to me,' says Paul de Lagarde, *Die revidirte Lutherbibel* (Göttingen, 1885), p. 2. Gervinus, otherwise an enthusiastic eulogist of Fischart, writes (iii. 163) : ' In this bacchanalian orgy of wit and words, for very abundance of wealth we arrive at nothing.' ' His language in this work is on a par with the gigantic monstrous " mouthings " of his heroes in Gargantua, but in this case there is no proportion between the figures and their speech. As the garments of these giants measure endless yards, so do the trailings of Fischart's periods.' ** See also L. Ganghofer, *Die Beurtheilung welche Fischarts Gargantua so wie sein Verhältniss zu Rabelais in der Litteraturgeschichte gefunden hat*, Leipzig Dissertation, edition of 1880, and A. Frantzen, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Fischarts Übersetzung von Rabelais' Gargantua*, Strassburg, 1892.

Fischart in his own additions to Rabelais speaks worthily concerning the significance of marriage, he mixes in such indecencies that every beautiful feature of the picture is completely lost.[1]

While Fischart with inexhaustible hatred went on persecuting the Catholic Church, and with equal unscrupulousness poured contempt on the baptismal ceremonies and the Communion service of the Lutherans,[2] and while he was setting himself up as moral arbiter of the follies, crimes and vices of his day, he undertook at the same time the part of champion orator of the most melancholy manifestation and most hideous crime of the period, viz. the persecution of witches. Almost everywhere in Germany, in the districts also where Fischart lived, witches were tortured on the rack, and burnt alive by hundreds. Among the few who 'out of pity for the poor creatures' had the courage to protest openly against the frightful tortures and executions was John Weyer, house-physician of William IV., Duke of Jülich-Cleves.[3] For this, how-

[1] The fifth chapter, 'How Grandgoschier married' (Bobertag, i. 269 ff.), calls Fischart a 'great man,' and considers his adaptation from Rabelais' *Gargantua* a new intellectual feat. 'Rabelais fought nothing more fiercely and hated nothing more bitterly than the Catholic Church and the monastic system. But he did not have the satisfaction of seeing his country healed of this poison destructive to national happiness, indeed he could not even hope for such a consummation in his own day. Fischart was a Protestant, and he regarded his nation as going on to victory over the Roman Church;' 'hence Fischart's joyous courage in battle.' P. 280 draws attention to the fact that the writer who comes nearest to Fischart's writings is the 'somewhat [only somewhat!] unclean fellow Michael Lindener.' . . . This writer 'deserves especial mention among Fischart's precursors.' What sort of a character Lindener was, we shall see later on in the chapter 'Unterhaltungsliteratur' ('Entertaining Literature') in vol. xii.

[2] See our remarks, vol. x. p. 23 ff.

[3] See our remarks, vol. viii. 551 ff. (German, the Eng. trans. of this vol. is not yet published), and Binze, *John Weyer*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1896.

ever, he was denounced in numerous pamphlets as 'a blasphemous rebel against God.' The most virulent of his antagonists was the French parliamentary councillor, Jean Bodin. Weyer, so said Bodin in 1580, in a great work, had 'entered the field against the honour of God,' and palmed off on the judges a depraved opinion as though it were not right to punish all witches and sorceresses with death by fire. Weyer is said to write as 'altogether forsaken of God,' 'in the style and fashion of the devil,' thus to augment the kingdom of Satan on earth. Hard language this. But, said Bodin, 'it is scarcely possible for one with even a little zeal for God's glory, when he sees and hears such great and numerous blasphemies, not to feel just indignation against the guilty upholder of this injustice; in order that the honour of God should not be trodden under foot, everybody must verily manifest such zeal in good earnest.' [1]

Fischart was the one who thought himself called 'to show this zeal for the glory of God;' as an honourable and highly learned doctor of the law he went in for the hunting down and gruesome persecution of witches. He published in 1581 a German translation of Bodin's work under the title: 'Vom ausgelassnen wütigen Teufelsheer der besessenen unsinnigen Hexen und Hexenmeister, Unholden, Teufelsbeschwörer, Wahrsager, Schwarzkünstler, Vergifter, Nestelverknüpfer, Veruntreuer, Nachtschädiger, Augenverblender und aller anderen Zauberer Geschlecht, sammt ihren ungeheueren Händeln; wie sie vermöge der Recht

[1] ** *De Daemonomania Magorum* in Fischart's translation (edition of 1591), vol. v. *Die Widerlegung der Meinungen und Opinionen Johannis Weyer*, pp. 258–297.

erkannt, eingetrieben, gehindert, erkundigt, erforscht, peinlich ersucht und gestraft sollen werden'[1] ('Of the wild, raging devil's army of the possessed, senseless witches and sorcerers, exorcists, soothsayers, wizards, black-art practitioners, poisoners, &c., &c., with all their monstrous dealings; showing how according to justice they ought to be exposed, shut up, hindered, tried, and most severely punished').

This work, he said, was not only necessary for 'theologians, jurists, doctors, officials, judges, councillors, magistrates and all persons in authority,' but also 'in many ways useful' for the people in general, in order to instruct them about and warn them against 'the devilish practice of magic and witchcraft.' Fischart therefore dedicated it to the 'German reader in general.' The work was to have its place among instructive national literature. His 'well-intentioned work,' Fischart said in the dedication to Egenolf, Herr zu Rappoltstein, Hoheneck and Geroldseck, was for the common benefit of the Fatherland, 'that amid all the existing injustice, uncertainty, doubt and disagreement concerning the punishment of witches and sorcerers, the Germans might find herein a sure principle to guide them and clear enlightenment.'

No work had hitherto appeared in the German language which so recklessly treated every ghost and suspicion of witchcraft as proved reality, and incited to such merciless persecution of the unhappy creatures.

That Weyer should have espoused the cause of

[1] Strassburg, 1581. ** See Hauffen in the *Euphorion*, 1897, p. 9 ff. Fischart also prepared in 1582 a new edition of the Latin *Malleus maleficarum*. ** See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 601 (German ed.), and Hauffen, *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff.

'the poor wretched women who were oppressed with melancholy' was considered a special sign of godlessness. 'The more women, the more witches,' so ran a Hebrew saying. Women were so enormously addicted to witchcraft, that to one sorcerer there were always fifty sorceresses. The reason of this did not lie in 'the deficient intelligence of the female sex,' but in the persistent stubbornness and stiff-neckedness of women; they often bore torture more courageously than men, but this was owing to 'the force of animal passion which drove women to satisfy their desires or else to seek revenge.' 'Perhaps it was for this reason that Plato placed women between men and animals.' The poets moreover had taught them that 'Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, had sprung from the brain of Jupiter and had had no mother, which showed that wisdom did not proceed from women, since they were much nearer akin to the nature of animals.' Weyer was a mad visionary, for he gave women credit for suffering from 'melancholic diseases.' These fell to their lot 'as little as the estimable effects and influences of temperate melancholy,' which on the showing of all ancient philosophers and physicians 'made men wise, discreet, prudent, thoughtful and contemplative; all which qualities belong as little to women as fire to water.'[1]

It was a further sign of godlessness in Weyer that he put no faith in the confessions and depositions of witches and sorcerers, because the things acknowledged by them were impossible: through the power of the devil anything was possible to them. From the lips of scholars who stood in high repute most astounding things were told the readers of this work. Caspar

[1] *De Daemonomania Magorum* (see above), pp. 265–268.

Peucer, the son-in-law of Melanchthon, had testified to the fact that men could change themselves into wolves, but, he added, no example was known of animals being transformed into human bodies.[1] In Livonia it was the rule that at the end of the Christmas month all the sorcerers should assemble at a particular place. 'If they were slow in coming the devil lashed them so violently with iron rods that the scars always remained on their bodies. When they were all assembled the leader went in front and several thousands of them followed him through a stream. As soon as they had crossed the stream they changed themselves into wolves, fell on the people and the cattle and did an immensity of damage. About twelve days afterwards they went back across this stream and resumed the shape of human beings.' Such wolf-brood is most common in Livonia, but not only there, 'everywhere it is very common.'[2]

Joachim Camerarius told of some sorcerers who had made the devil speak through the skulls of dead men; a chancellor of Milan had possessed a ring out of which the devil had spoken. George Agricola told of a mine in Saxony which had been discovered by the help of the devil: a spirit in the shape of a horse had killed twelve men there. Louis Lavater of Zürich was brought forward as witness that the children born in the Ember-weeks were much more plagued by ghosts than those born at other times, and the devil's favourite time for practising his witcheries was at night-time between

[1] ** Pp. 122, 286.

[2] P. 122. The Duke of Prussia, so it was said, had once compelled a sorcerer to change into a wolf, and had then had him put to death by fire. Gross, p. 127.

Friday and Sunday. The worst charge of all against Weyer was that he was a pupil of Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, who kept constantly by him a devil in the shape of a black dog, which he called 'Dominus.' [1]

The iniquities with which the witches and sorcerers were charged were as follows: they deny and blaspheme God and all religion; they worship the devil; they dedicate to him the fruit of their bodies, and offer up their children to him before they have been baptised; they make a trade of killing and murdering men and women; they eat human flesh (especially that of little boys), and if they cannot procure it otherwise, they dig up corpses from graves, or take down thieves from the gallows to devour them; and indeed all this had been made known very often. Furthermore they occasion death by poison and magic arts, they kill cattle, destroy fruit, produce hunger, famine and scarcity, and carry on carnal intercourse with the devil.

'Say now,' he says to the horrified reader, 'are these not all abominable vices, the least of which deserves an excruciating form of death?' It is true that 'all the sorcerers do not commit all the above-mentioned crimes. But it has been shown by experience that all those who have made express contracts with the devil and are in full understanding with him

[1] ** Pp. 72, 93, 155, 166, 269. In the *Vorwarnung*, p. 1, he urges his readers at any rate 'not instantly to give consent and credence to all that is herein adduced, or to load their stomachs with all the dishes concocted by a skilful cook, and which may not be digestible for everybody, before informing themselves as to how and why they have been cooked, but to remember the saying:

Consent should be withheld until
Confirmation by others has been obtained.'

But where should they inform themselves?

are generally guilty of the whole lot of these villainies, or at least of the greater number of them.' But when 'one person' has committed a number of crimes it is necessary 'that all should be punished; and that not only according to law and statute,' but also according to what the judge thinks fit.[1]

Such principles were spread by Fischart, 'the most honourable and learned doctor of law' and future magistrate of Forbach.

While Weyer had exhorted the judges and magistrates to show considerateness and mercy, Bodin and Fischart demanded the utmost severity and relentlessness. A judge who softened down legal punishment or remitted it altogether deserved, in their eyes, confiscation of goods or even banishment from the country, and he was in no way exonerated by saying that he could not believe that the witches could have done the things charged against them, and therefore could not agree that they deserved death by fire. If the ordinary legal processes were followed in dealing with sorcerers and witches not one out of a hundred thousand would be punished; in the case of witchcraft and sorcery strong proof was not necessary; on the contrary, 'conjectural evidence and presumption' were quite sufficient to justify condemnation and punishment. If, for instance, 'any person in the business of witchcraft was seen coming out of his or her enemy's stables or sheepfold, and it was found immediately afterwards that the animals began to sicken and die,' this was in itself 'a strong presumption' without any further evidence, and without a single further witness,

[1] ** *Von den Straffen, so die Zauberer und Unholden beschulden* ('Concerning the punishments which sorcerers and magicians deserve'), p. 234 ff.

or any further information, for punishing this person 'with scourging, cutting off limbs, branding, perpetual imprisonment, fines and confiscations.'

In order 'to ferret out' and punish the witches and sorcerers, Fischart said the magistrates must appoint commissary judges in all the different districts to help the ordinary judges in this 'holy work.' These judges must not wait till people came to them with complaints, but must 'in virtue of their office procure information about suspicious people, which is the most secret and perhaps also the safest way.'

Further, 'the accomplices in any evil deed must be summoned as informers against each other, and exemption from punishment must be guaranteed to these informers,' 'notwithstanding that according to ordinary law persons charged with the same misdemeanour cannot appear as plaintiffs. Whereas the plague of witches was most virulent in the villages and the suburbs, and the people were too frightened to complain, 'it was necessary for tracking out this abominable evil, to follow the laudable example of the Scotch and Milanese, and set up a special letter-box in every church.' Then everybody would be free to throw into it 'a rolled up paper on which the name of the witch or sorcerer was written, together with the particular misdemeanour committed, the place, the time and the witnesses of the offence, and any other circumstances.' Every fortnight these witch-boxes must be opened by the judges or the procurators, and 'secret reports' taken down concerning the accused persons.

Another 'useful plan' for finding out these miscreants was to 'use persuasion or constraint with those who were either afraid or unwilling to lodge

accusations, or to give information or to complain.' The commissaries must obtain the entry into families and get daughters to witness against mothers, sons against fathers, and conversely. 'For it has often been found that little daughters have been instructed by their mothers and taken by them to their assemblies.' Such little girls are easily gained over as witnesses if they are promised that their misdeeds will be forgiven because they were led astray. 'In these cases it will be seen how well they are able to reveal the persons, the time, the place of assembly, and what is going to be done there.' Again and again witches have been convicted of all sorts of ill-doing on the evidence of their little daughters. When, however, they are shy of speaking out before a number of listeners, the judge can conceal two or three persons behind tapestry, and thus, without the evidence being written down, it can be retained, and afterwards put in writing. If they were to have respect to 'the ordinary rules of trials with regard to the admission and rejection of witnesses,' namely that 'daughters must not give evidence against mothers, sons against fathers, fathers against sons, &c.,' they would never be free from the devilish herd of witches.[1] With a work of this sort Fischart thought to serve 'the common welfare and the Fatherland.'

'All sorts of comic and amusing things' of which he speaks in his preface are not to be found in this horrible book.

Bodin at any rate held firmly to the opinion that sorcerers and witches could only be misled by the devil

[1] ** *Von rechtmässiger Ausskundschaftung, Erforschung, Inquisition und Straffung gegen den Hechssen und Zauberer fürzunehmen*, p. 200 ff.

with the consent of their own free wills, that the devil had power only over those persons who gave themselves up to him willingly. 'They have free will,' he said, 'to be good or wicked, inasmuch as God says in His Word: See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; so choose the good if thou wilt live. And much more plainly it is said in another place: When God created man, He gave him a free will, and said to him: If thou wilt thou canst keep My commandments, and they will preserve thee.' [1] Fischart, however, in his preface warns his readers against that which 'Bodin thinks he has got from the evidence of the Jewish Rabbis concerning the free will of the regenerate.' [2]

Two years after Fischart's work had appeared in Strassburg, a Strassburg newspaper told how, on the 15th, 19th, 24th, and 28th of October, 1582, 'no fewer than one hundred and thirty-four witches had been put in prison, condemned to death by fire and burnt alive.' [3] One hundred and thirty-four witch-burnings in four days!

[1] P. 9.

[2] *Vorwarnung*, p. 1.

[3] Weller, *Zeitungen*, No. 572. ** The title of this newspaper, of which a copy may be seen in the town library at Munich, is as follows: 'Wahrhafte und glaubwirdige Zeitung. Von hundert und vier und dreyssig Unholden, so umb irer Zauberei halben diss verschinen 1582. Jars, zu Gefenknus gebracht und den 15, 19, 24, 28, October auff ihr unmenschlichen thaten und gräudliche aussag unnd Bekandtnus mit rechtem Urtheyl zum Fewer verdampft und verbrennet worden, wie dann die Ort, da sich alles verlauffen, ordentlich hernach vermelt und angezeygt,' Strassburg, 1583 ('Veritable and credible tidings concerning 134 sorcerers who on account of their witchcraft were taken to prison in the past year 1582, and on the 15, 19, 24, and 28 October, for their inhuman deeds and horrible confessions were by just sentence condemned and burnt to death by fire, as also the places where all this happened are clearly set forth,' Strassburg, 1583).

But Fischart was not moved to mercy. After he became an official at Forbach he published a new edition of his book in 1586, 'with many additions and explanations.' After his death in 1591 there followed still a further edition.[1]

Of a very different spirit from Fischart, in spite of his occasional sharp polemics against the Protestants, was Hippolytus Guarinoni, one of the most original of writers and the most vivid depicter of the manners of the time. He was a former pupil of the Prague Jesuit College, town physician of Hall in Tyrol, and house-physician to the Archduchesses Maria Christina and Eleonore in the 'Damenstift' (institution for noble ladies) in that place. His folio volume, 'Gräuel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechtes,' published in 1610 for the furtherance of 'the especial happiness, welfare, continuous health, temporal and eternal life of the whole highly laudable German nation,' is one of the most fruitful sources for the history of the culture and civilisation of that period, and at the same time an imperishable monument of honour to its philanthropic author.[2] In contrast to Fischart, Guarinoni, in the terrible age of witch-trials, espoused with noble ardour the cause of the poor persecuted old women.

[1] See Kurz, vol. iii. pp. xlvi-l, ** and Hauffen in *Euphorion*, 1897, p. 251 ff. W. Wackernagel (*Fischart*, p. 109) devotes only a few lines to this work. He ought at any rate not to have taken his hero under his protection in this matter; for the question is not whether Fischart shared the general belief of his period in witches, but that he became the champion of a system of persecution of the most brutal nature, and which offended every feeling of justice.

[2] Ingolstadt, 1610. The complete title is in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 585, No. 21. We have already frequently quoted from this work, and shall often have occasion to refer to it again in the course of this volume (Engl. vol. xii.)

'What glory is there,' he says among other things, 'in despising those who by nature and youth, let alone by age, are the weakest members?'[1]

Of still greater importance, as regards the history of culture, than the satires and libellous caricature writings

[1] See Adolf Pichler's very noteworthy article on Guarinoni in the Feuilleton of the *Wiener Presse*, 1884, March 11 ff. We quote here a few passages: 'His calling led him among all circles of society: from the cottage of the day-labourer to the mansion of the noble lord; from the hospital bed to the silken armchairs of archduchesses.' 'He wanted "to be understood in German by Germans."' Hence he collected saws and proverbs from the lips of burghers and peasants; he knew that the latter related stories about Dietrich of Bern, which are now quite forgotten, and he also quoted matter which later on modern poets have worked up—for instance, Schiller's *Handschuh*.' His comprehensive work has rightly been described as a polyhistoric Macrobiotic; but it is also one of the wealthiest sources of information concerning the history of German culture in every direction. 'Of the place which Guarinoni occupies in the development of medicine we are silent: he is among the world's pioneers.' 'His clear vision saw through the folly of the astrology which the most famous of his time did homage to.' 'We possess from his pen a description of his Italian travels, the first on the subject from a German author.' 'He paints the magic of the Highlands (Hochgebirg) in eloquent words, which are certainly more poetical than the dressed-up stanzas of the Silesians. He is perhaps the first German writer to whom it occurred to write the description of a mountain excursion. He has left us an account of a trip made with three friends to the Wallensee and on the Tarnthalerköpfe in 1609. Of modern sentimentality there is not the slightest trace in these pages; the healthy Tyrolese writes in a vein of fun and humour, we must forgo the pleasure of giving extracts and confine ourselves to remarking that he collected an herbarium of 600 species, and thus earned himself a place in the history of botany.' 'As politician also Guarinoni calls for notice in his brochure *Der christliche Weltmann*. He makes game of those 'who under the title of Christians introduced a reign of accursed heathenism with all its tyranny, as, for instance, a godless foreign Florentine bird, by name Nicholas Machiavelli (called in German *Schleierbeschmutzer*, "veil-besmircher," Machia-velo), had done; this is a horror of horrible arch-horrible horrors.' See also concerning Guarinoni our remarks, vol. ix. p. 321 note (Eng. trans.), and vol. vii. p. 363 ff. (German —the trans. of this vol. is not yet ready), ** and Pichler in the *Öster. ungar. Revue*, 1891, p. 35 ff., 145 ff.

of all sorts, is the dramatic literature of that period. Still more faithfully than they does it mirror the conditions of the age, and the increasing degeneration from decade to decade. The religious dramas were, by far the greater number of them, merely corollaries either of sermons or of controversies on creeds ; little by little embittered polemics became the actual life and substance of dramatic literature. As in the contemporary plastic arts, so too with the drama, all that was sacred and venerable became too often secularised, if not distorted, dishonoured, and desecrated. In the treatment of secular matter the stage in general by no means opposed a salutary counter-influence to the demoralising tendency of the spirit of the age ; it served rather to encourage this tendency, contributed materially to the coarsening and degradation of taste, delighted in the representation of vulgarity and the commonest life, of all that was horrible and gruesome, and became by degrees a school of immorality.

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